Daily Report

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Pact Figures Show Soviet Defense Burden Heavy

LD0502233489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1458 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the 'International Panorama' program presented by Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Text] On Monday the newspapers PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA and the foremost papers of the other socialist countries of Europe published a statement by the ministers of defense of the Warsaw Pact member states. For the first time in history, this statement gave detailed official figures on the numerical strength of the armed forces and arms of the Warsaw Pact, and also an assessment of NATO's armed forces and arms. In the West the publication was seen as preparing the ground for the 23-party talks which, as you know, are to begin in March. These are to be talks on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Here is a report from London on this topic:

[Begin recording] [Reporter Vsevolod Shishkovskiy] Number 23 Tavistock Street—this address in London is knwon far beyond the boundaries of Great Britain. This is the site of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, considered to be one of the most serious centers in the West for the study of the most important issues of world politics. It was set up in 1957 by a group of British academicians and politicians with the aim of studying more thoroughly the issue of how to safeguard security in the nuclear age. Its council includes representatives of 16 countries of Europe, North America, the Near East, Africa, East Asia, and the Pacific Ocean region. The institution is politically and financially completely independent. It functions mainly on contributions from various funds and organizations in the United States and the Western European countries, membership dues, and also the revenue gained from its research and publications.

The institute's staff is quite small, just 50 people in all. The data published the Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact member countries on the armed forces and arms of East Europe and West Europe have generated exceptional interest among the staff of the institute.

[John Cross, deputy director of the institute, in English with superimposed Russian translation] At the moment we are subjecting this document to very close analysis. Of course, in doing so we are coming up against certain difficulties and we have some questions, the answers to which we are hoping to receive through the good offices of the staff at the Soviet Embassy in London. But I repeat: It is very interesting for us to have this document and to study the data contained in it. Much of it needs to be reviewed or requires additional research. However, I would like to stress that, for us, this document is a fresh manifestation of your glasnost, and this cannot but hearten us.

[Shishkovskiy] I would like to know whether the published figures correspond to the information the staff of your institute has?

[Cross, laughing] Some figures tally, others do not. If you recall, the American writer Mark Twain said: In the world there is the truth, lies, and statistics. I would not like to cast doubt on all the figures published; however I will note that there are various ways of preparing and presenting statistical data, depending on the criteria and rules you choose to apply. I might say, for instance, that we have found ourselves in some difficulty when studying the data presented on artillery. The compilers have lumped together all types of this weapon—75-mm guns upwards, plus mortars of 50-mm or more and various rocket launchers. We do not do our calculations in this way. There are several such examples that I could give you. In the same way, armored vehicles are lumped together, which naturally affects the assessment of their total numbers. The asymmetry that exists between East and West in the number of tanks does not seem quite so enormous. It may be said that the data published on the armed forces and conventional weapons of the Warsaw Pact countries by and large tally with our calculations. As for NATO's weapons, our figures look quite different. This is particularly true of the number of tanks which the West has, according to your figures. Our figures are quite different.

In short, I repeat: It is necessary to know the rules by which the compliers of the document did their calculations, what they were basing them on. At any rate, there are some discrepancies on a number of points. We, I repeat, are having some difficulty in studying the document we have received. [end recording]

[Kondrashov] So, Mr Cross says the data his institute has and the data of the Warsaw Pact Organization defense ministers are a long way from agreeing on every point. Nor do the methods of calculation agree. This was only to be expected. As for the forthcoming Vienna talks, the ministers themselves are saying that the figures produced in their statement are not intended for use in their entirety as the initial parameters. In Vienna they will settle and agree on everything. Evidently it will be long and hard.

The publication of the figures on the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO are of no less significance to us from the domestic political point of view. It has turned out that we kept these military secrets more from our own people, while for the most part they were not secrets as far as the U.S. electronic space intelligence system was concerned. This is indirectly confirmed by Mr Cross from London's International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Glasnost in the military sphere is required not merely to satisfy our curiosity, but as an effective instrument of restructuring. A democratic state based on the rule of law is being created. The new Supreme Soviet that is to be elected in the spring should manage the state economy

not formally but actually, and learn to keep track of the national revenue and spend it sensibly, not least in the military sphere. The people's deputies must know the military expenditure to keep it firmly under control.

In this sense, the publication of the data on the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO is a stage in bringing about the reform of the political system. It is expected that it will be followed by information on the numbers of our armed forces in the Asiatic part of the USSR, and also on the true military spending, which we know to be much higher than the Ministry of Defense Budget that is made public when the state budget comes under discussion.

The statement by the defense ministers describes the correlation of conventional forces as roughly equal. But I would now like to speak about a different sort of parity, not military-starategic so much as ordinary human parity. The point is this: The population of the United States and the other NATO countries numbers more than 600 million; the population of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries is around 400 million. The combined gross national product of the NATO countries is approximatley four times the GNP of the Warsaw Pact countries. As you can see, given these ratios, one cannot but conclude that maintaining military-strategic parity weighs more heavily on us than on the more prosperous inhabitants of the West. Here, alas, there is no parity.

Furthermore, the United States bears a smaller proportion of the cost of NATO's joint military effort than does the Soviet Union in the corresponding efforts of the Warsaw Pact. Proof of this comes from the figures published: We supply more than two-thirds of the total armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization; the United States provides just one-sixth of NATO armed forces. That even includes the naval forces. We supply more than three-fourths of combat aircraft; the Americans supply less than one one-fourth of NATO's aircraft in Europe. We supply more than two-thirds of tanks; they supply less than one-third; and so on.

The conclusion is clear: We need to switch to a more economical and sensible defensive adequacy, which is what is being done now. [video shows PRAVDA front page and statement on inside page; front door of Institute for Strategic Studies; interior, library and interview with Cross]

Petrovskiy Says Arms Cuts Show Pact Sincerity
LD0402221189 Moscow International Service in Czech 1800 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy by Nikolay Yelkin; date, place not given--Petrovskiy remarks recorded in Russian, fading into Slovak translation; questions read by announcer]

[Text] Toward the end of last year and at the beginning of this year world information agencies were reporting sensational news. December: The Soviet Union announced a unilateral reduction in armed forces. January: The GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania announced unilateral measures for the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

Moscow radio reporter Nikolay Yelkin was in contact with the USSR Foreign Ministry and asked Deputy Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy to answer a number of questions for Moscow radio. Listen to this interview:

[Question] Usually we speak of the coordination of our community's foreign policy. Was the wide-ranging action that gave rise to such a great reaction in the world also agreed on this time, or was this a matter for each socialist country individually, a manifestation of the new political thinking of their leadership?

[Petrovskiy] When the leading officials of socialist countries speak about coordination of their activity, they do not mean a simple declarative statement but a political reality that exists within the mutual relations between our countries. This is why the actions you speak of—among other things, the reduction of the armed forces of the Soviet Union by 500,000 including Europe—were previously discussed with our allies. The same can also be said about the actions unilaterally undertaken by Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. I would say that this is graphic proof of the efforts of Warsaw Pact member countries to ensure that the statements by the highest representatives of the state about the need to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe are transferred to the level of concrete policy. The new political thinking is manifesting itself in this intention, in the unity of words and deeds, the coordination of our actions.

[Question] Does such a reduction in the armed forces not mean unilateral disarmament before the West? Some citizens of socialist countries are afraid of this.

[Petrovskiy] First, it is necessary to say that these actions are taking place on the eve of the beginning of very important talks in Vienna about a reduction in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, and talks about measures for the strengthening of trust on the whole of the Eurpean Continent. So within the framework of this process our actions can be evaluated as a good example for the other participants, as a signal to which the other side should react with deeds. We expect that after these actions the Vienna process of reducing armed forces and armaments will develop successfully.

Second, I am of the opinion that similar unilateral actions are only possible under positive conditions in the world, when trust is growing, even though we emphasize that they are not connected with the talks currently taking place.

[Question] There is no doubt that the reduction announced will be carried out in the same way as the precise deadlines of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. What will happen next? Are there any plans for further progress along this path?

[Petrovskiy] There are plans that are mostly certain. On 6 March the talks I mentioned will begin in Vienna. They will begin with an evaluation of the question of liquidating the existing imbalance, which should soon lead to a radical reduction in the number of armed forces and armaments of both the Warsw Pact and NATO—that is, for a sharp reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe.

[Question] Can the recently published facts about the number and makeup of the Warsaw Pact and NATO forces be evaluated in this context?

[Petrovskiy] Precisely, the statements of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers about the ratio of armed forces and armaments of the opposing military pacts contribute to the creation of a favorable climate for these very important talks. When this statement was approved we considered precisely that an action of this kind would have great significance for the creation of an overall atmosphere of trust and for easing the beginning of practical talks in Vienna.

[Question] Some politicians in the West, however, insist that there is no need to hurry with similar measures, just in case restructuring and Gorbachev's reforms crash, they say, which would lead to a change in the policy of the Soviet Union, so that it would then not be necessary to quickly revise the answering steps of the West. How do you see this?

[Petrovskiy] I think that such thoughts are a cover for the generally clear efforts to stop the process of freeing Europe from the burden of weapons at all costs, to cast doubt on the need to reach concrete agreements. The worries of these circles are now all the greater because Europe is truly ready to undertake these practical actions, and some people would like to return to military confrontation after we took the first steps. This is the source of the well-known concepts of compensation and modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. Clearly, however, they are begining to feel that militaristic reasons from the period of militaristic thinking are no longer effective. People are begining to doubt them. They are becoming aware that at the present time security cannot be secured by military means; security must be secured by political means. This is why such dishonorable reasons as speculation about the situation in the Soviet Union are being used. Now we must act faster. We need to secure the constant movement of the disarmament train on the trans-European line.

[Question] In connection with this, I would like to say that the public opinion polls recently made in the West show that today constantly fewer people are afraid of a threat from the East. These initiatives not just by the Soviet Union but also by other socialist countries are removing the last arguments of the advocators of the arms race.

[Petrovskiy] Thank you for pointing out another argument that explains why they are now looking for various excuses, inventing pseudotheoretical scenarios that could stop the process that is taking place. For the opponents of disarmament, life is unbearable at the moment. The current environment and political ecology are demanding disarmament and the concrete activity of the socialist countries, and their proposals and unilateral actions are supported by the demands of the public. This frightens those who live in comfort in a Europe engorged by nuclear and other weapons. The processes taking place are not to their liking.

[Question] What else would you like to say to the citizens of socialist countries who will be listening to our conversation?

[Petrovskiy] I would like to take this opportunity to say that, as was shown by recent events, as was shown by the new political thinking, joint initiative in the formation of a general system of security that is being put forward by all socialist countries within the UN organization is playing a very important task, and not only for the growth of the authority of socialist countries as the initiators of changes in international relations on a democratic basis. This action has basically created a basis for the activity of all peace-loving forces. This is why the unique experiences of cooperation, coordination of activity, and securing unity regardless of differing attitudes are very important for socialist countries. It is necessary to strengthen these experiences in the future, to create with the help of our actions conditions for a reliable structure of security in Europe and the whole world. It is necessary to implement a worldwide approach. This, in my view, is the mission of our countries whose peoples have chosen the path of socialism.

Geneva Multilateral Talks on Chemical Arms End

LD0301184289 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 3 TASS—The multilateral talks on banning chemical weapons ended in Geneva today. They were held within the framework of the conference on disarmament.

During this round work was continued to elaborate the provisions of a future convention, concerning challenge inspections of suspected breaches of the convention, and also the ensurance of states' security in the period of chemical weapons destruction and exclusion of its production in civilian industry.

Photos Shown of Chemical Arms Destruction Plant

LD0302193389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As you know, the Soviet foreign minister, Comrade Shevardnadze, declared at the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons that our country would unilaterally begin eliminating its stockpiles of chemical weapons; furthermore, this would be done even before the appropriate international convention had been concluded. Our commentary takes up this topic.

[Commentator Dmitriy Kiselev] I am holding here several unusual photographs, as yet unpublished. Now, however, they can be shown. They confirm an important innovation: The construction of a special enterprise in Chapayevsk has been completed. After the equipment has been adjusted and the strictest requirements for ecological purity met, the plant—which does not produce but destroys chemical weapons—will begin operation. This plant will probably not be the only one. But thanks to this plant, this very year our country may become the only one whose stockpiles of chemical weapons start to go down. [video shows photographs of installations]

It so happens that we know far less about chemical weapons than about nuclear weapons, and it is perhaps for this reason that we consider them less dangerous. This is a delusion. [passage omitted on incidences of chemical warfare use in 1915 and by the United States in Vietnam; effects of chemical warfare shown in video clips]

Yes, this has occurred more recently than one would have wished, but nevertheless the Soviet Union has stopped producing chemical weapons. Renouncing pathological secrecy, we are now insisting on strict international verification [kontrol] of nonproduction and destruction of chemical weapons, wherever this may occur. At the Geneva disarmament conference, work is nearing completion at present on drawing up an appropriate draft: Here it is, about 200 pages. [video shows disarmament conference report in Russian] Everything would seem to have been agreed upon, but it is precisely the verification issues that remain uncoordinated. The Soviet Union is in favor of inspection of any place or installation without right of refusal; the United States is against this. Such is the will of the private companies.

When he was vice president, George Bush often said that he considered a ban on chemical weapons a priority task. It was Bush who in 1984 put forward the U.S. draft convention at the Geneva conference. We shall hope that the stars and stripes already behind the back of the presidential chair have not altered Bush's priorities. For the moment, though, the United States is manufacturing chemical weapons. In the Soviet Union, things are different.

Nazarkin Previews Chemical Weapons Conference

LD0402230389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1302 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva, 4 Feb (TASS)—Talks on a chemical weapons ban will be the main topic of a regular session of the disarmament conference which opens here on 7 February, Yuriy Nazarkin, head of a Soviet delegation, told TASS.

The Paris conference gave a strong political impetus to them, he continued. However, at present this is felt mostly in the mood of participants in the talks and still remains to be translated into practical deeds and into further progress on the way to coordinating a convention on a universal and complete chemical weapons ban. Apart from that, we shall try to begin working out a multilateral treaty on a universal nuclear test ban in order to channel the efforts aimed at preventing the space arms race to the drawing up of specific measures in this field, Nazarkin said.

He pointed out that practical results will depend a great deal on the plan of action which the U.S. delegation has prepared for the conference, and on any new ideas of the Bush administration it will bring. On the whole, one would hope that the work of the conference will promote the formation of a broad consensus on a comprehensive approach to security—in other words, the formation of a new model of world security whose concept was put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's U.N. speech.

Dwelling on the prospects for talks on banning chemical weapons, taking into account the results of the Paris conference, the Soviet representative stressed the Paris conference's positive impact, which is particularly expressed in the fact that several states who are not members of the disarmament conference have already stated their wish to participate in the talks as observers. Among them are Libya, Syria, Bangladesh, Malaysia, the DPRK, and South Korea. This is a direct response to the call from the Paris conference to all states, and not only to the participants in the talks, to make a substantial contribution to drawing up a convention.

The final declaration of the Paris conference, he continued, calls on the Geneva disarmament conference urgently to double its efforts to resolve the outstanding issues quickly and to conclude a convention as soon as possible. Our delegation has instructions from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, relying upon the useful results of the Paris forum, to intensify work in all directions aimed at concluding as speedily as possible a convention on the total banning of chemical weapns.

In reply to a question about whether the change in the U.S. Administration is affecting the work of the conference, and whether it is intended that alongside multilateral talks the bilateral Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning of chemical weapons should also continue, the leader of the USSR delegation noted that as yet no

changes can be observed at the talks. The U.S. representatives are still patently not ready for active talks. They often refer to the lack of instructions because of the "transitional period" in Washington. To date there is also no accord on the date for holding the next round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons which have been held since 1986. Still, Nazarkin continued, we remember George Bush's statement to the effect that the problem of a chemical weapons ban is high on his list of priorities and that he would like to go down in history as a president who, together with U.S. allies, the Soviet Union, and other countries brought about the elimination of chemical weapons. We regard it as a rather positive sign and hope that the U.S. delegation at the talks will not take too long to put it into practice.

On the theme of practical results of working out a convention on banning chemical weapons, Nazarkin said that the main political problems connected with the convention have been settled. However, there are several issues that remain to be coordinated, one of the most important of them being the provisions regulating the procedure of the destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles and their production capacities, as well as some others dealing with ensuring the security of signatories to the convention during the destruction period on which it has been agreed that it will last for 10 years. The provisions regulating the so-called "permitted production," that is, the production of chemicals, even highly toxic ones, which are necessary and will remain necessary after the signing of the convention for medical, research, and other non-military purposes are still being coordinated. On the whole, Nazarkin pointed out, there exist real conditions for making the year 1989 a decisive one for the signing of the convention.

Answering a question on why the Soviet Union was late in stopping the production of chemical weapons, as Eduard Shevardnadze revealed at the Paris conference, and continued to increase "the chemical agents' gross output" which costs the government plenty of money, Nazarkin said that the main reason for this squandering of the national resources is the veil of super-secrecy that traditionally surrounds all that is connected with defense. In this situation it unfortunately happens sometimes that narrow departmental interests prevail over state interests, over a true concern for the country's security. To guard against such mistakes in the future, to overcome this "disease," we should have more glasnost concerning decisions on defense issues; we should resolutely separate real military secrets from imaginary ones.

Of course, Nazarkin said, there is a kind of information which, if revealed, can damage security. However, much of what is regarded as "classified information" should be revealed to the public and discussed. The government only stands to gain from this. He cited as a fresh example of such an approach the publication of rather detailed information on the armaments and armed forces of Warsaw Pact member states. The publication of these figures renders useless the speculations that were rather popular in the West not that long ago.

Commentator Views Postponement of NATO Exercise
LD0202221189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Feb 89

[News presented by Vladimir Fadeyev]

[Text] [Fadeyev] Today a report from the Pentagon caught the attention of many international observers. It was announced that the annual "Reforger" military exercises—the largest NATO maneuvers with several tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers taking part—will not be held this year. I asked our political observer Aleksandr Zholkver to give us his view on the report:

[Zholkver] Formally, the Pentagon states that the "Reforger" excercises are simply being postponed until next year, but I do not think that it is just a question of a changed staff disposition. The situation has changed not only in the Pentagon—I am talking about the arrival of a new head of this military department, as well as the whole Washington administration—but in the entire world. Here is a noteworthy headline in one of the latest issues of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL: "Gorbachev's Peace Offensive Takes the West Unawares." The article under this headline describes in detail how, I quote, the Soviet leader's major ideas on balancing the armed forces in Europe are pulling the rug from under the Western politicians' feet and hampering the already agonizing NATO attempts to decide what are the genuine needs of its military. Speaking further about these needs, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL writes frankly that it is becoming more difficult for Western governments to justify the allocation of major appropriations for military technology at a time when mainly peace is talked about.

[Fadeyev] But you know, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I do not think that it is just a question of the financial aspects of the issue.

[Zholkver] Of course, for many of the NATO countries, particularly for such a densely populated country as the FRG—and the "Reforger" exercises were mainly held on its territory—major maneuvers are always connected with great risks. Last year, for example, 20 military aircraft crashed in the FRG during exercises. Many of these crashed in residential areas, and—even more dangerous—this was in the direct vicinity of nuclear power stations. A mass movement is now growing throughout West Germany in favor of halting Air Force exercises.

[Fadeyev] But presumably the cancellation or at least a postponement of "Reforger" is connected not just with the situation in the FRG.

[Zholkver] Undoubtedly. Similar discussions are now in progress in many NATO countries, and I should say that they became especially active after the announcements by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states of unilateral measures toward major reductions in their armed forces and armaments. Not even such a conservative London paper as the FINANCIAL TIMES is calling on the West to give Gorbachev a positive response and show its own initiative in arms reductions. Unfortunately, so far the NATO leadership has not followed such calls. Furthermore, NATO Secretary General Woerner, speaking on the Voice of America, even attempted to compromise our disarmament initiatives by claiming that they were allegedly calculated to produce an outward effect. But why shouldn't NATO after all get down to reducing its armies and arsenals. That would presumably produce a good effect, even greater than today's announcement about the postponement of the "Reforger" maneuvers.

[Fadeyev] I thought: Why indeed doesn't NATO do that instead of playing down the significance of our initiatives in the eyes of the public in their own countries and their bloc partners"? Isn't the reason for this, after all, a shortage of good will which the North Atlantic alliance has now been suffering from for many years?

Chernyshev Examines 'Lessons of Vienna'
LD0302151289 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

Negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe have ended at Vienna. They have not yielded any mutually acceptable results. Nevertheless, lack of a concrete agreement does not mean at all that the negotiations were useless. They allowed for the accumulation of a certain amount of experience, both positive and negative, have contributed to the dialogue underway between the East and the West on a set of very complicated problems related to European security and disarmament.

What are the lessons of Vienna? The author of this comment, who served for several years on the Soviet delegation to this forum, deems it necessary to touch on several aspects. The many-years-long Vienna negotiations warrant, above all, the conclusion that attempts to reach agreement on the reduction of NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces and armaments within a limited, artificially carved out region of Europe, could not be resultative. All of Europe as a whole should be taken into account to make the negotiations successful.

The so-called "numerical problem" is also a serious lesson. Official data on the numerical strength of Warsaw Treaty forces were called in question by NATO delegates throughout the negotiations, although the Western side was unable to prove any of its exaggerated evaluations. All this goes to show that it is impossible to convince one another at such negotiations that the submitted figures are correct. This requires additional steps, primarily measures allowing for mutual on-the-spot verification.

The protracted Vienna negotiations have also proved the expediency of raising the question of disbalances and asymmetries in individual elements of the armed forces and armaments of both sides. Without taking these disbalances and asymmetries into consideration, without seeking ways to eliminate them, it will be very difficult, apparently, to find mutually acceptable criteria for appraising the combat potentials of the opposite sides, and, consequently, to draw up an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

And, finally, the Vienna forum has borne out clearly the urgent need of working out control measures, primarily for on-the-spot verification, not only of the armed forces and armaments reduction process, but, and this is much more important, of the troops and armaments that will remain in the field after this cut.

Considering that agreement was recently reached to start negotiations this March on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals—the Vienna forum's experience will, without doubt, give the parties to it a clearer picture of what is required to achieve mutually acceptable and controllable reductions and limitations of armed forces and armaments in the European continent as a whole.

15-Years of Vienna Talks Produce 'No Result'
LD0302133189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] Talks on troops and arms reductions in central Europe have ended in Vienna. Fifteen years of discussions by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO produced no result, but lessons can be derived from the sad experience. Radio Moscow's commentator, Yuriy Solton, writes:

There is not much use in trying to find out who is to blame personally for the failure of the negotiations. It is probably much more important to analyze the causes, of which juggling with figures is the main one. Negotiators spent a long time arguing over the exact number of troops and arms deployed in central Europe. Fifteen years of debate failed to bring about an agreement. Big politics have run into the insurmoutable obstacle of arithmetics. We shouldn't forget this now on the eve of new, much more complicated talks devoted to troop and conventional arms cuts in the whole of Europe.

True, there can be no disarmament without accurate counting. In this respect it is highly important that the military leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have

published exact information concerning the strength of the armed forces and armaments of both military and political alliances. Although there are certain asymmetries, the figures show an approximate parity. The knowledge of the real state of affairs can help future negotiations to make a good start. However, NATO leaders have their own point of view and their own statistics, which they believe to be more accurate. It would be a great disappointment if debates on the types of arms and methods to count the strength of armed forces prove a stumbling block. And there is a good way of avoiding this, writes Yuriy Solton, which is to return to the idea of mutually acceptable ceilings on troops and arms on both sides. On this point it is possible to agree on verification measures that would guarantee full compliance with the established restrictions. So far, it is difficult to foresee what course the negotiations beginning in March will take. It seems we can look into the future with optimism. The decisions by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies on large-scale unilateral cuts in their armed forces by a total of 300,000 men in Europe alone has changed the situation dramatically. We have produced favorable conditions for achieving an agreement to lessen considerably the level of military confrontation in Europe, and everybody will stand to gain by this, writes our commentator, Yuriy Solton.

Old Mistakes Must Be Avoided at Vienna Talks

LD0302214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] As we have already reported, the talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have ended in Vienna. Our political observer Aleksandr Zholkver comments on the results of these talks.

[Zholkver] Overall, the results of the Vienna marathon, which went on for 15 years, cannot give one pleasure. Although the participants in the talks adopted a final communique, which pointed out a rapprochement of their viewpoints on a number of matters, no specific measures to reduce the arsenals in Central Europe have been outlined. Why is it that an agreement has not been reached? In my view, there were both objective and subjective reasons for this. First, it was a matter of reducing armaments in just one limited area of the European Continent and this evoked fears that at the same time armaments would be building up in other parts of Europe. Second—and I think this is even more important—the participants in the talks were in general prisoners of old dogmas and stereotypes and felt an obvious lack of mutual trust.

Over the past 15 years I have had occasion several times to visit the Hofburg Palace in Vienna where the talks were being held, and each time I found there a situation of endless mutual reproaches and suspicions, especially when the talk was about the numbers of armed forces and armaments of the two military groupings in Europe, and the possibility of their verification. Now the situation has fundamentally changed. The conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, and the beginning of its practical implementation, have graphically shown the possibility of reaching agreement on key problems relating to the security of states, including questions of effective verification. Measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere adopted on the basis of the Stockholm conference decisions—I have in mind in particular the widespread practice of a reciprocal invitation of observers to military exercises—have also made relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO more trusting. Finally, the documents on the meeting of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada, which also ended recently in Vienna, have opened up more favorable prospects for fresh efforts to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe.

A mandate has been drawn up for holding talks in Vienna from the start of March this year on reducing armed forces and armaments throughout the European continent from the Atlantic to the Urals, including even part of the Asian territory of Turkey and the Soviet Transcaucasus. At the same time, talks will be continued on broadening military confidence-building measures in Europe. Of course, the strongest impetus for military detente in the European Continent has been provided by the new large-scale initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries, which have not only published detailed information on the numerical strength of their armed forces and armaments in Europe but have also announced their forthcoming considerable reduction.

So one set of Vienna talks has ended and another is due to take place. It is important not to repeat former mistakes and to make use of the new favorable opportunities.

Disarmament Conference Chairman Optimistic

LD0302173889 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 3 TASS—Favourable conditions exist today, as never before, to resume multilateral negotiations on disarmament problems within the framework of the disarmament conference, whose regular session is to start in Geneva on February 7th. This was stated at a press conference here by Aldo Puiese, chairman of its February session. The optimism, with which the delegations are getting down to their work, he noted, is explained by the agreement reached between the USSR and the United States in the sphere of nuclear armaments, by the result of the Vienna meeting of Helsinki process participants and by the Paris Conference on chemical weapons. Aldo Puiese said that the conference's primary task was to finalize the convention to ban the production and use of chemical weapons, to destroy their stockpiles.

Replying to pressmen, the chairman of the conference's February session noted specially that promising signs of progress towards a more secure and stable world were largely due to the new foreign policy course of the Soviet Union, to the policy of openness and constructive dialogue, based on mutual respect of interests, which Mikhail Gorbachev has proclaimed and is now implementing.

'Repercussions' Program Discusses Vienna Talks

LD0202112589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1850 GMT on 31 January carries a 75-minute "Repercussions" program, subtitled "The Vienna Meeting—New Thinking in Concrete Dimensions." The program is conducted by political observer Georgiy Ivanovich Zubkov, with the participation of Vladimir Alekseyevich Kartashkin, senior research worker at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Yuriy Borisovich Chervov, head of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; and Georgiy Khosroyevich Shakhnazarov, president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences.

After an introduction by Zubkov, Shakhnazarov explains the importance of the Vienna meeting and goes on to say that much work lies ahead to implement the agreements reached. Kashlev points out the sequence of talks that are planned to follow up the Vienna meetings, and then praises the role of Gorbachev's UN speech in bringing the long process to its conclusion.

Zubkov says: "Nikolay Fedorovich, if you don't mind, here is a question for you. One of the most important accords of the Vienna meeting concerns the mandate for talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Viewers phoned us about this yesterday and wrote letters asking about the meaning of the mandate, its essence, and, of course, its contents."

Chervov, shown leafing through the mandate document responds: "I have here in front of me the mandate. It is the document defining the frontiers, or the framework, of future talks. What is contained in this mandate? This mandate defines the composition of the participants of the talks, the aims and methods of holding the talks, the subject of the talks, the zone of restrictions or the zone of reductions of the talks or the region of application, the exchange of information and the general theses for verification, and also the procedural questions connected with the talks and the venue. Also, there are individual articles determining the conditions for holding the meetings, the financing and individual statements by certain states. That is, the mandate is the document which will guide the participants of the talks on reductions of armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals."

Zubkov notes: "There will be 23 countries."

Chervov continues: "Yes, 23 states. I would like to add, in connection with what Georgiy Khosroyevich and Yuriy Borisovich said, that the Vienna meeting was also a kind of breakthrough in the military sphere. This hasn't happened before—for two types of negotiations to be commencing at once, on 6 March: both on reducing conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, negotiations by 23 states, and also on measures to stregthen confidence and security, negotiations by 35 states. Although the reduction of armed forces, conventional armed forces, has not yet commenced in real terms, nonetheless, in my view, a new reality has now arisen. It is the change from the principle of a surplus of arms to a reduction of arms, to the principle of reasonable sufficiency. A kind of new model for ensuring security is forming: Not with the aid of increasing arms, but mainly by reducing arms; and the Soviet Union and other countries of the Warsaw Pact are showing this with practical deeds.

"As is known, following the Soviet Union, almost all the countries of the Warsaw Pact have now announced their own unilateral reduction of their armed forces. I don't think that anything is preventing the NATO countries from responding to these very constructive steps of ours. We have given a good example of trust, which deserves to be followed by other states. This would give us the opportunity to reduce significantly Europe's military confrontation and to create more favorable conditions for the development of the negotiations even before their start. And—just one minute—the second negotiations, on confidence-building measures. As is known, the Stockholm conference ended successfully. There is every hope that the confidence-building measures which were elaborated at Stockholm will be developed further; one would like to hope that the confidence-building measures which were elaborated at Stockholm, and are, in the main, being extended to the ground forces—that they, those confidence-building measures, must now be extended, at future negotiations, to the independent activity of the air and naval forces. In any event, Yuriy Borisovich spoke very strongly in favor of this at the negotiations, and I think he will continue to pursue this line."

Zubkov, continuing the discussion, says: "Vladimir Alekseyevich, at the beginning of our broadcast we received a lot of questions about human rights and humanitarian problems. Let us try to answer as many of them as possible. The main question is: How should our internal legislation be adapted in accordance with the accords reached in Vienna?"

Kartashkin responds: "Georgiy Ivanovich, this is a rather complicated question, consisting of several components, as there are even disagreements about the meaning of human rights." He goes on to review the history of the human rights question. He continues: "The final document we are discussing now specifies a whole range of human rights and contains specific obligations placed on states, which they must observe. What follows from this for the Soviet State? In what way must we adapt our legislation in accordance with the final document? Our press recently stated that we must renounce various mythical reservations about international documents, sign the European Convention, and so on. But, in reality, primarily we must bring our legislation in line with the accords reached. What is at issue? It is primarily a question of a press law, a law on freedom of conscience, a law on public organizations, a law on

entry and exits, aboliton or change of the provisions of the passport regime and residence permits and a range of other legislative acts." He notes that more European conferences on these issues are planned. Continuing, he states: "Proceeding from the idea that one of the signs of a socialist state based on the rule of law is stability of the law, we must now draw up our laws in such a way that they accord not only with the final document, but also look to the future." Kashlev recalls that a Politburo decision makes the Vienna decisions immediately effective in the USSR, and calls for them to be implemented forthwith.

Zubkov says that some viewers ask if socialism and capitalism are converging. Shakhnazarov dismisses this idea, but points out that countries can usefully borrow what is best from each other in many spheres.

Zubkov continues: "I have several more here. Allow me to sum up several questions, several dozen questions, which all concern the recent publication of data on the correlation of the numbers of the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact organization and the North Atlantic alliance. The essence of these questions is that it is well known that analagous data has been published by the NATO organizatiion. What is the degree of similarity and contradictoriness of our data and theirs, and will not the prestige of the military profession now fall with such rapid disarmament? That is a summary of the questions."

Chervov responds: "Our statement by the Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers has already been drawn up in the form of a brochure. It will be distributed. It contains in full the statement about the correlation of forces, and in addition to what is not given in the papers, it indicates the calculation zone of the total number, which is very important because it shows graphically in which region of Europe the armed forces of the two sides have been taken, and where the correlation of these forces is taken. The video shows accompanying brochure with colored center-spread map of Europe and surrounding seas. The figures published by the Warsaw Pact give an overall and more objective picture of the correlation of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO compared with the brochure or the figures published by the NATO side, by the Western side.

"Why do I draw this conclusion? Primarily because in giving the correlation of forces we take the armed forces of the two alliances in complex, as a unity, that is, taking account of all the components of the armed forces which are interlinked and which represent a single organism. I mean the ground troops, the air forces, naval forces, antiaircraft defense and other components. Taken all together they show the military potential of the two sides. If one takes the NATO figures, these figures are presented selectively, taking only, in the main, ground troops. Thus, these figures do not give the picture of the correlation of armed forces, as they do not show the naval forces; they mask the air forces with individual aircraft; they do not show the antiaircraft defenses and other components of the armed forces. This tendentious approach, this selective approach, distorts the real picture of the correlation of forces. The main aim being pursued is to show superiority on the part of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. This, at any rate, is the aim the authors of the NATO brochure set themselves.

"I will cite only one example so as not to take up too much time. Take artillery, for example. The NATO brochure counts the number of artillery of 100-mm caliber and above. Yuriy Borisovich and I held a news conference in Vienna. I asked Western representatives: Why have you taken the figures for 100-mm caliber and above? Why not from 75-mm? Why not from 80-mm, or from 60-mm or from 40? Why? Because it is advantageous to bend the figures in such a way as to show a superiority in artillery on the part of the Warsaw Pact. But if one takes account of all artillery, all artillery systems, then one must add a further 25,000 artillery systems on the NATO side. Therefore, even such an elementary example shows the tendentious approach to the figures from the Western side."

Zubkov says that many people have asked questions about entry to and exit from the USSR. Chervov interrupts: "Officers, too, are asking why they are not permitted to go abroad on leave." Zubkov goes on: "Obviously we will get more questions like this, so we must give a reply as to whether a law is being prepared on this." He invites Kartashkin to answer, who responds: "The final document envisages that the participant states will fully respect the right of everyone to leave any country, including their own, and to return to their own country. This right is stated in the Human Rights Pact and in other international documents. Moreover, the final document demands that within 1 year of the conclusion of the Vienna meeting, states publish all laws and sublegal acts concerning this question. In short, we are to publish not only the laws, but also all instructions which, until recently, were closed.

"How are things going today? A law is being prepared on the procedure for departure from and entry into the USSR by Soviet citizens. To date, these questions are decided on the basis of the appropriate articles and supplements. These supplements state that grounds for departure abroad are family links—reunification of families, getting married, visiting sick relatives, and a range of other private grounds. The final document also says that every person will be free to leave and to return to his country. Further, the section devoted to contacts between people says that grounds for trips abroad will be not only family links, but also personal and professional motives. Thus, in the law which is now being prepared it will be insufficient to state as grounds for departure abroad: family links. It will be essential to state in this document that every person, on the basis of personal application, has the right to depart abroad. This refers, of course, to going abroad for 2 weeks to a month—that is,

for a whole range of personal, professional, and family reasons. Only if this provision is included in the law will this law be in accord with the Vienna final document.

"Unfortunately, I have no information about how the preparation and adoption of this law will proceed. But I must say that now, as you know, as a result of the elections, a congress of people's deputies will be convened, and then the USSR Supreme Soviet. This USSR Supreme Soviet session will last not just 2 or 3 days, but several months. I think that the deputies, as a result of detailed discussion, will adopt the sort of law which will resolve this question. It is not long until the session of the Supreme Soviet, so I am fully confident that our law, when adopted in its final version, will be in accord with the final document.

"But I would like to add one further question to this. In our country, often, and as a rule, all laws are prepared by departments and ministries. Scholars participate in these laws only on an ad hoc basis. I think that to provide a guarantee that this law is in accord with our international obligations and is in accord with the interests of democratization and restructuring, laws should be prepared not only by ministries and departments. Alternative versions of laws should be prepared by scholars and public organizations. I can see no reason why, for example, the Institute of State and Law, or some other institute should not prepare a law on the procedure for entry into and exit from the USSR alongside the law being prepared by ministries and departments. Or why should not our public commission on human rights and humanitarian links, which has been set up under the Soviet Commission for European Security, also prepare a draft. When the deputies have in front of them various drafts they will be able to compile a law embracing all the best and positive features of the various drafts presented by various organizations, departments, and scholars. Replying to the question sent in by (Yelena Mikhaylovna), I hope that this will take place soon."

Kashlev adds to this reply: "One of the important accords of the Vienna meeting is that within 6 months of the conclusion of the Vienna meeting, all petitions for departure abroad must be examined and decided, both for short-term trips and for permanent residence abroad. That is, by 15 July, all our corresponding services must examine and find decisions. This does not mean—and it is not written anywhere—that all decisions must be positive. Of course, there can be negative decisions, although they now account for a very insignificant percentage—some 1.5 percent of those applying to travel. But all petitions must be examined within 6 months. That is one of the new features of the Vienna meeting.

"In general, if one compares the evolution of the problems of human rights and the third basket, as it is called, over the years of the Helsinki process, there is no comparison. The Helsinki Final Act devoted only a couple of paragraphs: They were very compressed and laconic. But now those who have already read the Vienna Final Act in IZVESTIYA, or who read the brochure, will see that there are tens of pagers devoted to human rights. The categories have been extended of those human rights which are the subject of discussion in the European process. There is mention for the first time of the right of citizens to defend their rights, individually or in association with others. For the first time there is mention of religious freedoms; there was nothing about this at all before. Relgious freedoms include teaching religion to children, the functioning of religious communities, and so on: all of this is written down and legalized. There is recognition of citizens' rights to check on the fulfillment by their own state of the Helsinki and Vienna accords. Thus, the public is invited to carry out people's control of how our state implements the Vienna and Helsinki accords. Thus, much has been extended, incomparably with what there was at first."

Kashlev continues: "In this connection one is amazed at some questions. For example, (Vera Ionovna Grishakova) from Moscow, war veteran, a former aviation mechanic, writes: Why are pensioners not allowed to travel? All sorts of nonsense about age are given as reasons. In other countries elderly people travel. I must say to you that neither the Vienna document nor any other international document contains any restrictions on travel for reasons of age. Thus, whoever answered you in this way violated and is violating the international obligations of the USSR and Soviet laws.

"Here is an interesting question if you will allow me to answer it. Why is it that such an important document as the Vienna document was not published in the political publications—in PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, etc—and is this acting against restructuring, the delaying of the publication of this document." Kashlev recalls that it was published in IZVESTIYA, but says that he would like to see it published in PRAVDA, too.

Shakhnazarov then gives brief replies to several questions. To a question about the possibility of an all-European summit, he says that it may take place sometime in the future. To a question asking if material on European cooperation should be included in school text books, he says: "Yes." Shakhnazarov goes on to speak at length about his ideas of increasing international cooperation to ensure that global interests are given priority over section interests.

Zubkov, continuing on the same theme, says: "Yuriy Aleksandrovich, this links up with the question of how this affects the activities of communist parties in capitalist countries. Are their activities being transformed in connection with this, too?"

Shakhnazarov replies: "Of course. The communist parties exist in a changing world. They must change. It is precisely on this that the way they tackle their tasks depends—whether they will turn into mass parties or remain numerically quite small; to what extent they can win places in parliament, gain the support of the trade

unions, and so on. I think that it is precisely in this direction that the question of the fate of the communist movement and its further success will be decided. If it is able to take full account of the specific features of the age then this will allow it to reach new levels."

Zubkov then invites Chervov to answer some questions.

Chervov obliges by recapping and answering listeners' questions: "When will the immediate reduction of our troops, as outlined by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, start? It will start in the next 3-4 months; we will start to implement our initiative, about which Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke at the United Nations.

"Is another reduction in Soviet armed forces planned in future, for instance, next year, on the basis of the results of the Vienna talks? We have not yet started our unilateral reduction, which is calculated for 2 years—1989 and 1990—that is to say, prior to 1 January 1991 we are to fulfill our plan for a unilateral reduction. Therefore, further reductions are planned for next year.

"After the signing, after the completion of the Vienna meeting, the socialist countries unilaterally adopted measures to reduce armed forces and armaments. Have Poland and Romania adopted similar measures? If not, do any plans on this score exist?

"Well, as regards the Socialist Republic of Romania, as is known, in 1986 it unilaterally reduced its troops and military budget by 5 percent. The Polish People's Republic is also unilaterally reducing its troops, at the present time by 15,000 men, and is reducing its military budget from 7.7 percent to 5.5 percent of the state budget.

"Why in the USSR is it intended to reduce weapons, including also in the East, while no nonaggression treaties have been concluded with Japan and China, and the problems of the southern borders, the problems of Iran and Pakistan, have not been resolved?"

Chervov continues: "In the east we are reducing our troops by 200,000 men, and in the south by 60,000 men. You are acquainted with this. Moreover, we have carried out a number of other measures to strengthen stability and international security in the Asian part and in the east of the country, by reducing and eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles. Moreover, as is known, we have assumed the obligation not to increase the number of aircraft carrying nuclear-weapons in the east. At the same time, we have already carried out...[changes thought] We will now start the second reduction of our troops in Mongolia. We will withdraw 75 percent of our troops and our entire Air Force from there. That is to say, the range of our, or the volume of our initiatives, is fairly considerable.

"Well, carrying out such measures, I believe that this is first of all a result of the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. These Soviet-Chinese relations, too, now have a tendency toward further improvement. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze has now left on a visit to the PRC. The summit, the meeting at the highest level, is not far off. We expect the visit by the foreign minister, and especially the meeting at the highest level to yield considerable results, which will fully back up the measures which we have taken unilaterally to reduce our armed troops. By the way, China has also reduced, as is known, its armed forces by 1 million men. As regards the south of the country, our country's security in the south will not suffer from our unilateral reduction.

"How will the reduction of the Army be carried out? How will it affect officer personnel?

"It will of course affect officer personnel. Approximately every fifth officer will be discharged from the ranks of the armed forces. This is a very major social problem. Naturally, the appropriate measures from the point of view of living conditions and support for the officers being discharged are now being taken. First to be discharged will be the officers who have served their term and are entitled to a pension. In this respect a great role is to be played by the certification, that is to say, the certification period which will start this year. All officers will be thoroughly checked.

"Why did Marshal Akhromeyev retire? Because of illness.

"The new U.S. secretary of defense has declared that weapons must be increased. What is the reason for this?

"Yes indeed, Secretary of Defense Tower, in the Senate hearing confirming his appointment asseverated that he favored increasing military spending, increasing nuclear and conventional weapons, and continuing talks with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. All this was undoubtedly so. But at the same time, Mr Tower is not the United States, he is not the administration, and in the final analysis he is not the Congress. So this view is so far only that of Mr Tower.

"When will our troops be finally withdrawn from Afghanistan?

"The Soviet Union is precisely observing all the Geneva agreements. Our troops will be withdrawn on time. The time limit set by the Geneva agreements is 15 February.

"How is it that our country says that everywhere we have a defensive doctrine, and at the same time the combat regulations of the USSR armed forces call the main type of battle offensive?

"All regulations and manuals, all documents, including encyclopaedias are being reworked. The basic type of combat action is defense. Our troops are being taught

this, officers and all personnel are being educated: Defense, from strategy of operational art and tactics, all of it is fully penetrating all the activity of our armed forces.

"Why is it that full figures are not published on the total numbers for our entire army?

"They are published for the European part. I can tell you first of all that this is already an enormous step forward. It is the result of the new political thinking, glasnost, openness. We have fully disclosed all our armed forces in the European part."

Zubkov asks: "And this is (?required) by the forthcoming negotiations?"

Chervov answeres: "Yes, and this is also in the interests of the forthcoming negotiations. If you read carefully the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with the representatives of the tripartite commission—Kissinger, Giscard d'Estaing, Nakasone, and Rockefeller—Mikhail Sergeyevich said that in the near future we will also publish data for the whole of our country—that is, also for the Asiatic part."

Zubkov then asks Kartashkin to reply to questions about internal passport procedures.

Kartashkin responds by saying: "Right, but just a few more words on my previous theme. Questions are still coming in asking whether a law will be introduced in line with the final document on exits and entries. This is inevitable. We have begun building our common European home, and it would be impossible to imagine this home as one in which only relatives live, and where other citizens are not allowed to move around this home. Therefore, this process is inevitable.

"There are many questions about abolishing residence permits. A discordant note to all of these questions comes in one listener's question: Do you not think, esteemed comrades, that the economic possibility does not exist in our country for introducing signed documents, in particular the abolition of residence permits?

"No. Personally I do not think so. I would like to point out to all our listeners that before 1932 residence permits did not exist. Moreover, the decision of the Central Executive Committee of 1923, signed by Kalinin and Kamenev, states directly that it is forbidden to demand from citizens their passports or other proof of identity in order to limit their right to travel within the RSFSR or to choose their place of residence. In 1933, at the height of the personality cult, the passport procedure and residence permits were introduced. Moreover, the decision of the Council of People's Commissars stated that its aim was to purge and relieve populated points of kulaks, criminals, and antisocial elements. We know the meaning of these words—purge and relieve. This was, naturally, one of the means for asserverating the personality cult, for totally repressing innocent people.

"Is it necessary to preserve residence permits? It would seem that it is not necessary because the final document envisages the obligation of each state to ensure freedom of travel and place of residence within the borders of each state. Moreover, I consider that precisely for economic reasons it is necessary to abolish residence permits because the institution of residence permits causes vast damage to society, with fictitious marriages, abuse of office, bribery. Recently PRAVDA reported that in Azerbaijan and other regions of the country people, officials, bureaucrats take bribes for residence permits. It is precisely the preservation of residence permits which is hampering the carrying out of reforms, the transfer to self-financing and financial autonomy. One should not think that if residence permits are abolished that there will be anarchy and a flow of people from one town to another. On the contrary, Soviet people, if they are not tied down by residence permits, and if they fear losing their housing [as heard] will travel freely to those regions in our country where there is a need for workers. It is the natural circulation of the population and the abolition of residence permits that will facilitate the country's economic life. I think it is possible that residence permits will not be abolished all at once, but gradually, starting with those regions of the country where there is a shortage of workers. This process is inevitable. As we have signed the final document we must begin gradually abolishing residence permits and abolishing the corresponding decisions and, in particular, the latest decision of 1974, which even evisages bringing criminal charges against people for malicious violation of the passport procedure. Naturally, this decision was adopted in the period of stagnation and braking, and from this stem the negative features of this decision.

"Replying again to questions devoted to exits and entries, and to residence permits, I would like to assure our listeners that this process is inevitable and that our country—as was noted in the Politburo statement—will take measures to ensure that our legislation should be in accord with the international obligations we have undertaken."

Zubkov then invites Kashlev to choose a theme on which to answer viewers' questions.

Kashlev responds: "I will have a batch of questions about information: How, after Vienna, will we get more information from abroad, and so on. Well, first of all I would direct the attention of those comrades who have forgotten this to the fact that from the time of the Vienna meeting, and because of it and because of our internal affairs and our democratization, the jamming of foreign radio stations has been halted. There is now no jamming. Now everyone who wants can listen to any voice, as they used to say, from over the hill, whether they are good or

bad; we do not fear anything. Secondly, after Vienna it is intended to expand considerably the distribution of foreign periodical press in kiosks, libraries, and so on. In April, in just a few months, there is to be a European information forum in London, the first, where all questions on the exchange of information and its distribution, conditions for journalists, will be discussed. Also the Vienna final document has many provisions easing conditions for the work of foreign journalists."

Kashlev goes on to mention the ecological provisions of the Vienna final document and the planned follow-up meeting in Sofia.

Zubkov notes that viewers have shown great interest in the implementation of the Vienna document in the USSR. He cites a question from a Moscow listener: "Our country is not a passageway. We did not defend our homeland for it to be flooded with all and sundry." He notes: "A similar opinion is expressed by (Yulyena) from Moscow: Who needs our country to be open; do workers need to go abroad; and, moreover, auctions are full of our products. There is a proposal from (Grigoriyev) that a nationwide forum should be held about entries; true, he does not object to departures." Zubkov responds: "I think there is no point in avoiding these objections because it shows that the process of restructuring and democratization is not so simple and that it has both its supporters and those who perhaps do not sufficiently understand it." Zubkov invites Shakhnazarov to counter these points.

Shakhnazarov accepts, saying: "In replying to these questions, one should probably reject the alternative. For decades we were, if not totally cut off from the world, then in general very restricted in our links, for various reasons. The West asserts that we lowered the Iron Curtain. Our side also has grounds to consider that we were deliberately cut off from access to world technology, equipment, science, and so on. But the main result is that it is clear that we lost out very greatly from this in not being able fully to share the riches of world culture and world development. Today, in conditions of modern communications, equipment, and technology, in essence a country which wants to isolate itself dooms itself to letting its progress slip and will become hopelessly backward and become a second-rate power. Therefore, I think that the openness which has come with restructuring, glasnost, and the new political thinking is a very great achievement for us. It is a good thing that our people will travel the world, look at things, learn, acquire knowledge, and bring it back here. We, in our turn, can generously give the world what we know, and join in the process of world development. Of course, in this there will be absolutely no danger for our independence. Surely the fact that tourists come to visit us will not shake the might of the Soviet State."

Zubkov then invites the participants to give their views on what is most important in the Vienna document. Kartashkin says that it is important that the document will be subject to monitoring by citizens and by other states, which can point out violations.

Kashlev adds: "The results of Vienna were possible because of restructuring in our country, thanks to the new political thinking which we implement in the international arena, thanks to the fact that people have started to trust us. In the future our task is not to allow any gap between words and deeds. If we are trusted, if we behave in a civilized and honest way, showing initiatives in disarmament matters and in humanitarian matters, then a good future will open up before us."

Shakhnazarov agrees with this, and goes on to praise Gorbachev's restructuring.

Chervov says: "I will be very brief. We consider that the new, future talks should be honest, truthful and open, without deception. This is not playing for advantage. Everyone should win, otherwise everyone will lose."

Zubkov concludes the program by thanking viewers for their questions and the participants for their answers.

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Resignation, New Trends
PM0302141089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 5, 29 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev by Yuriy Teplyakov: "General Staff—Changes"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Teplyakov] Not long ago we met with you in your study in the Arbat, at the General Staff Headquarters of the USSR Armed Forces. Today, you work in the Kremlin, at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I must say, it is somehow unusual to see one of our military leaders here. What are your duties now?

[Akhromeyev] It's too early to explain them in full. My duties are still being determined. Being military, I'll probably deal mainly with military-political and military-related questions.

[Teplyakov] Your departure from the post of Chief of General Staff caused quite a lot of speculations and rumours in the West. Some say that this happened as a result of difference between the military and political leadership of our country. The following reasons are cited as proof: 1987—a West german pilot lands on Red Square and immediately there were changes in the USSR military leadership. On December 7 it was announced that the USSR is reducing its army by 500,000 people, and a week later the newspaper "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" reports that you're leaving your post. You must agree, this could cause people to wonder.

[Akhromeyev] Why such a coincidence, I don't know. Maybe, the announcement of a 500,000-person reduction in our Armed Forces and the replacement of the Chief of general Staff should not be put so close together. But, on the other hand, there are people in the West who will always try to combine incompatibles. Even on an absolutely white canvass they always try to find some

sort of spots. You see, this explanation was also provided not by chance. It expresses a definite line, a certain goal—to harm the USSR. Otherwise, there'd be much less talk about this, generally speaking, very common affair.

According to some propagandists in the West, if the USSR decides to reduce its Armed Forces, the military leadership must be against it. As if we, the military, do not understand objective needs or are not participating, together with the entire Soviet people, in perestroika. Our times today put forward quite different criteria for defence than before. The main principle for building the Armed Forces today is defence sufficiency, i.e., the aspiration to have a minimum army and navy sufficient to rebuff any aggressor and to build up the defence on a mainly qualitatively new basis. When this principle evolved in our country, the military were also involved in it. They took an active part in the elaboration of the Soviet military doctrine, of which defence sufficiency is a part.

And the reduction of our Armed Forces by 500,000 people is also a result of a major study conducted jointly with the military. Naturally, from the very beginning the General Staff leadership took part in this work.

[Teplyakov] Therefore, the reduction of the armed Forces by 500,000 people is your own "wanted child" and not the reason you left the General Staff. Then, why change work? You must agree that such a judgement as "if I wish to, I'll leave, or stay", doesn't fit for such a high post.

[Akhromeyev] About why I left my post. The range of the Chief of the General Staff is diverse and complex. It entails a 14-15 hours work each day and very great stress. And I am 66. Like any other man's, my strength is limited. The time finally arrived when I realized that such stress would soon be too great for me. It's not just a problem of age. I went through the war where I was wounded and shell-shocked several times.

I asked to be relieved of my job. My application was accepted. At the same time I was given an executive post. I'm very grateful for the confidence, and will try to be as useful as I can.

Now, about the reduction of the Armed Forces. I think, a "wanted child" doesn't fit in this case. The matter is not one of "wanted" or "unwanted". We managed to lower military tension in the world thanks to new political thinking, to the persistence of the leadership of our Party and of Mikhail Gorbachev, personally. The tension is less for our country, too. The political means which we think should be applied for dealing with military questions operated in this case. A new situation has taken shape which has enabled us to reduce the Army and the Navy.

[Teplyakov] From the first years of our state we had a defence doctrine. But recently we were forced to change it so as to persuade the world once more than we don't wish to attack anybody. What's the matter?

[Akhromeyev] The cold war started between the USSR and USA and between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe practically right after World War II. Let's not seek now who was guilty of starting it. Both sides bear a share of the responsibility for it. One—more, another—less. A real military, including a nuclear threat, appeared at the time for the USSR. The USSR did not intend to attack anybody and was preparing for defence alone, but the methods of troop training it used were of the attack style. Why? At the time, judging by the just ended World War II, it was thought that such methods were the most reliable when defending against aggression. Correspondingly the groupings of armed forces were set up in Europe.

We entered the second half of the 80s with great mutual non-confidence, when the well-known events (meeting and talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, the 1986 programme for a non-nuclear world, the plan for setting up a system of all-embracing international security, the 1987 INF Treaty, but, mainly, perestroika in the USSR) have led to greater confidence and a lowering of the war threat and tensions. We became convinced that the countries of Western Europe are apprehensive of our military strategy and of the number of Soviet troops deployed in Europe.

To reduce the war threat and tensions, and introduce real mutual trust in Europe, we decided to change our military doctrine and, later on, the strategy, and remake them so that they would have a more consistently defence nature. We did that in 1987-1988. At present the top officers, troops and navy are training in conducting defence operations. Last summer we showed Frank Carlucci, the U.S. Defense Secretary, the system of training of our top officers at the General Staff Academy. We're ready to do the same also for the military leaders of other countries.

Now we went further. Agreeing upon it with our allies, we started to reduce our troops and to change their organizational pattern. The groupings of armed forces in Europe are now given a defence nature. What is the essence of the changes?

Firstly, the number of our armed forces in Europe has been reduced (by 50,000 people in the territory of our allies, and nearly by 240,000 people in the territory of Europe). Secondly, tanks will be reduced by 10,000; artillery—by 8,500 pieces and combat planes—by 800. Thirdly, the deployment of aviation is being changed to make defence more effective. Fourthly, the pattern of motorized rifle and tank divisions is being changed. They are taking on less attack and more defence means. The system of troops control and their material-technical supplies is also changing correspondingly.

That's information about the Soviet troops. I think that our allies will not be indifferent, either, in this.

In the East of the country we are also performing the corresponding measures which Mikhail Gorbachev announced on January 18.

And what is NATO doing? Unfortunately, we do not as yet see favourable changes in dealing with the questions which cause us apprehension.

Firstly, the USSR, as before, is surrounded by U.S. military bases, where its air force and navy are deployed. The number of these bases is not growing less.

Secondly, 15 U.S. aircraft carrier strike forces are either already deployed or are prepared to be deployed in the seas washing our territory.

Thirdly, at the forthcoming talks on Armed Forces in Europe it is demanded that we reduce a large number of tanks, artillery and other weapons. But, our partners in the talks at the same time refuse to reduce their attack planes, of which they have 1,400 more than we do.

It shouldn't be thought that the USSR and its allies will disarm unilaterally and NATO members will observe this without taking similar measures of their own.

Apparently the situation is abnormal when the USSR decides to reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men and the West decides to deploy in Italy U.S. F-16 bombers and to modernize tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

[Teplyakov] We're getting a great many letters—isn't the USSR giving in to the West? Aren't we undermining our own defence, into which we've invested so much, sometimes refusing ourselves necessary things?

[Akhromeyev] But the press, including your paper, is also being asked—does a military threat to the USSR exist today at all? Maybe, the army is dying out as such? Quite often I am asked such questions, too. I think that each one of us should clearly realize that no matter how great the success in strengthening peace is, a military threat for the USSR still remains. Naturally, it has become less, as compared to the early 80s. That's why the reduction of Armed forces became possible. But the imperialist sources of wars and aggressions did not vanish. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about this at the 19th Party Conference. Therefore, there is a limit to unilateral reductions.

[Teplyakov] The world welcomed our decision, but one can also hear other assessments. For example, that it is easy and painless for the USSR to reduce a huge army, because the Warsaw Treaty Organization will still be strongest in Europe.

[Akhromeyev] The Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries worked in Sofia this past mid-December. Once more a comparison of the military forces of the WTO and NATO was considered. A decision was taken to publish complete data on the strength of forces. Without any omissions. Apparently, this information will be published very soon. And, I repeat—complete data and not just selected figures. Then everyone would be able to see that an approximate balance exists in Europe. Up till now, the West only used the selected figures published by the NATO HQ. But they deal only with land forces and partly with the air forces of the sides. They produce a distorted picture. And those people who declare that it is "easy and painless" to reduce the Armed Forces, may be advised to emulate our example.

[Teplyakov] And how did the USSR's WTO allies regard our trroop reduction, considering the withdrawal of troops from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland affects their security?

[Akhromeyev] As far as I know, our proposals met with understanding, beginning with the very first working consultations, both of the political leadership and the military leaders of the WTO countries. For forty years the armed forces of the sides in Europe stood, figuratively speaking, nose-to-nose. And no one intended to back down even a little. We were the first to realize that it was necessary to set an example. As a result, a whole class of nuclear missiles is already disappearing. I think that now, NATO, too, will have to reply to our reduction. It will be very hard for them not to do likewise.

[Teplyakov] Last autumn at a press conference in Sweden you said that the complete military budget of the USSR would be published. But, time goes on and still there is no data.

[Akhromeyev] At that time I said in 1.5-2 years.

There is an objective reason. Military budgets become known by comparison. People wish to compare, for example, the military budgets of the USSR and the USA. But the systems of price forming are different today in our country and in the USA. It won't be a real comparison. First we must come to a single method of price formation and then compare the data.

The USSR Defence Ministry is allocated money out of the country's budget as approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The sum is known—20.2 billion roubles. this money pays the wages of service personnel, their room and board, clothing, combat training, and the building of social, service and defence projects.

This doesn't include the list of deliveries of mass-produced arms and military hardware, research and arms testing. This spending is at present outside the

budget of the USSR Defence ministry. It takes time to unite it all together to establish a price-formation system which is the same as in other countries.

[Teplyakov] And the last thing. No matter how often I've had occasion to speak to our brass, I've never heard even a hint of mistakes in their activities. A kind of air of impeccability is being created. Haven't we ever made blunders in our military policy, to say nothing about strategic defects?

[Akhromeyev] There were such mistakes in the past and they do exist now. Was our troops' retreat in 1941 only a result of Stalin's activities and his incapability to organize a strategic defence? The reason for this was also in our military officers' inability at all levels—from a front to a regiment—to organize troop control at that bitter time. It's a different matter where these reasons came from, but they existed. And they led to a crisis, with the Nazis reaching Moscow's gates.

We've got shortcomings today, too. Not all top officers, commanders, HQs and political organs are ready to control troops at war and in peace time. Generations are being changed now. The top officers, the leaders of HQs and of political organs, who took part in the Great Patriotic War are leaving or will leave their posts very soon.

Young military leaders are filling the vacated posts. time and intense study are needed so that they would master their jobs. There are also shortcomings in the methods of training. Very often we're too slow in analyzing new trends in military art.

Lastly, many shortcomings of the stagnation period are to be found in the armed forces. They are evident in the work done by the leading military personnel, including the leadership of the USSR Defence Ministry.

I don't agree with you that military leaders are not self-critical. As a rule, they are very responsible people and they thoroughly analyze their activities and they notice their own shortcomings and those of their subordinates.

[Teplyakov] Col.-Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev is your successor. He is not yet 50. Up till recently he was CO of troops in the Far Eastern Military region. What can you say about him?

[Akhromeyev] Colonel-General Moiseyev has become Chief of General Staff at a young age. I wish him success at this most responsible and difficult post. I'm sure that the post of the Chief of General Staff is one of the most difficult in the Armed Forces. He is an experienced, well-educated and industrious general, well known in our Armed Forces for his high qualities.

I think he'll do everything possible and, if need be, we veterans will help him meet the hopes placed upon him by the CPSU Central Committee and the government.

Lomeyko Appointed Representative to UNESCO
LD0502185889 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—The presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Vladimir Lomeyko to the post of the Soviet Union's permanent representative at the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

Vladimir Lomeyko, born in 1935, a Belorussian by nationality, graduated from the International Relations Institute under the Soviet Foreign Ministry and worked at the Soviet Embassy in the GDR from 1960 to 1963. Later he was elected deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee of Youth Organisations, worked as an instructor at a department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, was member of the board of the Novosti Press Agency and a political observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. From 1984 to 1986 he was head of the press department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and member of the Foreign Ministry Collegium. From 1986 until now he was an ambassador at large and a Soviet representative at the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Lomeyko has the rank of an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

Yuriy Khilchevskiy was relieved of the duties of the USSR permanent representative at UNESCO because of his transfer to another place of work.

Correction to Omelichev News Conference on Forces
LD0202231589

The following correction pertains to the item subheadlined "Far East Figures 'Soon'" under the headline "Karpov, Omelichev News Conference on Force Figures," published in the 1 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 1-2: paragraph five, line ten: ...in weapons with the capability of sudden attack. We also feel... (rewording description of weapons)

United States & Canada

Bush Cited on Policy Toward Soviet Union

PM0402180289 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 3

[TASS report: "We Are Not About To Turn Our Back"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Feb—I understand the importance of relations with the Soviet Union and am fully determined to move forward. This was stated by U.S. President George Bush, who was addressing a large group of businessmen in the White House on Friday.

G. Bush announced that his administration "is continuing to study the state of relations with the Soviet Union. I know all those present here are very interested in these relations. I am convinced that General Secretary Gorbachev understands that our approach does not mean we are trying to procrastinate. I would not want to miss any possible opportunities, but at the same time I would not want to do anything rash."

The President recalled that in his UN speech 2 months ago M.S. Gorbachev "put forward a set of very interesting proposals." He gave assurances that the Washington administration will certainly "examine this entire range of problems."

The White House chief also stressed: "We are not about to turn our back on any opportunity to achieve progress, but we intend to take sufficient time to ensure that there is unity within our administration when we begin to move orward in the sphere of conventional arms, strategic arms, or, for instance, in the sphere of the economy, regional conflicts, and human rights."

Correspondents Note Bush Remarks

LD0402223989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From "The World in the Mirror of Events" program presented by Igor Charikov and Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] [Charikov] A UPI correspondent has sent a curious report, in my view, from the U.S. capital. President Bush received a large group of U.S. businessmen in the White House.

[Agayants] Addressing them, the head of the current administration dwelt, if I am not mistaken, on some aspects of U.S. foreign policy, particularly on Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Charikov] Certainly. He announced that the government is continuing to study the state of relations with the USSR.

[Agayants] How long will this studying process continue?

[Charikov] George Bush put it bluntly: Analysis of relations with the Soviet Union now being carried out under the leadership of Secretary of State James Baker and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft does not mean that we are delaying things.

[Agayants] Let us hope not!

[Charikov] He went on: I do not want to let current opportunities slip. At the same time, however, I do not want to take rash steps, George Bush stated, expressing his conviction that the Soviet leadership understood this perfectly.

[Agayants] It sounds convincing—let us see how things develop further.

Bush Comments on 'Gorbachev's Challenge'

PM0602091589

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 February 1989 in its Second Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "Gorbachev's Challenge" a 600-word commentary by A. Karpychev on an "Unofficial Photograph" of ex-President Reagan, President Bush, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, taken against a background of the New York skyline. All three are smiling and appear in a relaxed mood. The commentary reads:

"We are more accustomed to seeing such high-ranking leaders at the negotiating table. Newspapers hardly publish any other photographs. This photograph is such a surprise that it makes one stop, look, and... think a while.

"Above all, there is something appealing about the photograph. But at first it is hard to tell exactly what that is.

"I carried out a small survey and obtained some answers. Some people described the photograph's value as being its humanity and openness, while others said it was the general mood and even a certain symbolism.

"All the same let's give the photograph a title, using a new phrase that has recently appeared in the West's political lexicon—'Gorbachev's Challenge.'

"This expression was the first response to the speech made by the head of the Soviet Government at the United Nations. The response to the question: 'How will mankind enter the 21st century?' The response to our new initiative on a unilateral reduction in our Armed Forces. This photograph was taken the day 'Gorbachev's challenge' was heard. It was taken on the small Governor's Island at the mouth of the East River—you can see the New York skyline in the distance. A meeting took place with Ronald Reagan on this island. The newspapers reported that they were first photographed together and 'then U.S. Vice President G. Bush joined them.'

"Some 6 weeks later Bush assumed the presidency.

"'How do you intend to meet Gorbachev's challenge?' TIME magazine asked immediately.

"The new President accepted the question, but not the challenge itself.

"'I don't regard this as a challenge from Gorbachev,' he replied. 'I think that if we make the mistake of regarding our relations with the Soviet Union from the viewpoint of individiual personalities, we will regret this later. We must assess Soviet intentions more broadly.... I intend to analyze everything cautiously when resolving the question of what direction we should take.... I had the chance to talk confidentially with Gorbachev during his last visit. At the meeting with President Reagan I made it perfectly clear that this style, which in some people's opinion is excessively cautious, is good for U.S.-Soviet relations.'

"NEWSWEEK continued the theme as follows:

"'You want to reappraise Soviet-U.S. relations. Does this mean that you are wary of Gorbachev and the approach he is taking?'

"'I want to begin by making a broad assessment of the Soviet Union and the direction we think it is moving in, and also by answering the question as to what I as President can do to facilitate this process and promote an improvement in our relations, yet nevertheless do this reasonably and cautiously.'

"...No one today can predict how long the new expression will survive in the political lexicon. People are waiting to see: Will the challenge be taken? I don't have the right to speak on their behalf, but I can assume that people are dreaming of this kind of challenge being heard more often and more loudly on the threshold of the 21st century.

"And not only from one side."

Baker Quoted on Foreign Policy, Restructuring

LD0602084789 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 6 TASS—The U.S. Secretary of State James Baker talked about relations with the Soviet Union, the situation in the Middle East and Central America and some other problems of international policy in an interview published in the Monday's issue of the U.S. weekly magazine TIME.

Speaking about the attitude of the new Bush administation to the process of social-economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union Baker said "I'm not one of those who believe we should hope for failure (of the policy of perestroyka), that somehow failure will result in a weaker Soviet Union and that will be better for the U.S." He also said "it's a case of our wanting to see that experiment succeed in opening up that society." At the same time Baker said that he doesn't think "success or failure depends on what we do". "We must continue to approach this relationship (with the Soviet Union) with prudence, realism, and to be reserved and not go overboard here just because we see a change", he stressed.

Speaking about Middle East policy he stressed that the administration "supports the concept of an international conference provided—big proviso—it was properly structured and provided its purpose was to lead to direct negotiations between the parties. He said that the U.S. "doesn't oppose categorically a Soviet role" in the solution of the Middle East problem on condition that "any such role be a constructive one". Touching upon the U.S. role in the peace process he excluded any possibility of the U.S. putting pressure on Israel. At the same time he stressed that "it is in Israel's interest to resolve the issue", that "both sides have got to find a way to give something".

Baker supported giving humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan contras "to open the prospect they could be re-established as a fighting force". Baker justified this position by reference to alleged aggressive behaviour by the Sandino government towards its neighbours. At the same time he admitted that the presence of armed contra units in Honduras causes "some problems" for the United States. Speaking about a peaceful solution in Central America Baker stressed that the U.S. "shouldn't automatically exclude the possibility of talking" to the Soviet Union on this problem.

U.S. Press Carries 'Anti-Soviet Misinformation'

LD0402124889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1150 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Washington 3 Feb (TASS correspondents)—Doing the rounds in local political circles is the view that there is a kind of "temporary vacuum"—when the new U.S. Administration is preoccupied with sorting out orgnaizational and personnel matters—at which time its foreign policy activities seem to grind to a halt because of the declared need to "analyze the international situation" and devise its own initiatives and approaches. Very active attempts to fill the "vacuum" are being made by those forces in the United States that would like the new administration to pursue a policy of promoting confrontation in relations with the Soviet Union, not of further easing tension; of continuing to build up weapon stocks, not of expanding arms reduction agreements.

Much recourse is made to misinformation.

Thus the newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES, the mouthpiece of the extreme right wing, published allegations on 19 January, with a reference to unidentified officials, that the USSR continues the production of bacteriological weapons and even supplies them to other countries.

The purpose of such allegations is clear. First of all, they are intended to justify work in the area of bacteriological weapons conducted in the United States. (The Pentagon's expenditures for the purpose increased from $63 million in 1980 to $334 million in 1987.) Second, they are intended to create the impression that the Soviet Union violates the 1972 convention on bacteriological weapons and, hence, "is not to be trusted."

The newspaper also tries to add poison to Soviet-U.S. relations in the field of problems concerning the emergence and settlement of regional conflicts: On 1 February the same newspaper came out with allegations from which it followed that the Soviet Union was implicated in the death of U.S. Ambassador to Kabul Adolph Dubs in 1979.

Well-known observers with right-wing tendencies such as Novak and Evans, whose items are published by many American newspapers, joined in the effort at misinformation. On 1 February THE WASHINGTON POST carried their article asserting, with a reference to some chemist assigned to the Pentagon, that some data had been discovered proving that the Soviet Union was implicated in the crash in August 1988 of the plane carrying Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq and the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan.

When a TASS correspondent asked U.S. Department of State Spokesman Charles Redman to comment on these assertions, Redman said that he had nothing to add to an official report of the Pakistani governmental commission on the investigation of the causes of the crash, and that he was unaware of any new investigations.

The same was said by a spokesman for the White House. He told a TASS correspondent that the White House stand was that it shared the conclusions of the investigation conducted by Pakistanis. As is known, the investigation has not established either the concrete causes of the crash or who was guilty of it.

A wave of anti-Soviet misinformation which has obviously been instigated assumed such proportions in the recent days that, as it was learned by a TASS correspondent, the USSR Embassy in Washington deemed it necessary to point this out to the U.S. Department of State by lodging a protest.

A representative of the Soviet Embassy also met with a representative of the leadership of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) Phillip Arnold and, citing facts of misinformation, recalled the arrangement reached by the USSR and the United States to oppose this and to counteract misinformation with truthful information. As it became known to a TASS correspondent, the conversation at USIA was of constructive nature. The USIA representative recognized the seriousness of the problem and made the assurances that it would be most seriously studied.

[Signed] Igor Ignatyev

Oleg Polyakovskiy

Nikolay Turkatenko

Poll Surveys Soviet, U.S. Public Attitudes

PM0302135589 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 9

[Sergey Merinov report: "Social Bookkeeping: 'Yes,' 'No,' 'Not Sure'"]

[Text] What is the answer to the question: "To what extent are you proud to be a Soviet citizen?" What is your attitude toward the Americans, Gorbachev, glasnost, the war in Afghanistan? Who do you think is stronger in military terms, the United States or the USSR? Which of them grants its citizens more freedom? Are intimate relations between a man and a woman acceptable prior to marriage?

These and many other questions (mostly the same ones) were put via telephone to inhabitants of Moscow, Boston, Detroit, New York, and San Francisco. A joint opinion poll under the title "Understanding" was carried out by the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute and the U.S. public opinion research companies Marttila and Kayli, Inc, and Market Opinion Research. The "Understanding" poll is part of a long-term research program by Moscow sociologists under the title "International Barometer of the World." The poll was financed by a number of U.S. newspapers and radio and television stations. In the Soviet capital the sociologists and "representatives of the clients" who had arrived in Moscow were assisted by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and APN.

In all the cities the telephone numbers were chosen by computers. As a result, of the 1,006 people polled in Moscow, 553 were women, 181 were party members, 257 were people with incomes of less than R100 per month, 262 were workers, and so forth; 33 percent of them were "entirely satisfied with their housing conditions," and 73 percent "were not satisfied with the availability of quality goods."

In general, judging by the answers, a feeling of profound satisfaction has deserted us. It is more of an American feeling now. The Americans, as a rule, are more satisfied than we are with themselves, their country (though not their government), their living conditions, democracy, the economy, and the press. While 67-79 percent of Americans are "very proud" to be American, only 39 percent of Muscovites are very proud to be Soviet citizens. On the other hand, Muscovites are much more prone to "always trust" their government than the Americans are likely to trust theirs.

Muscovites' sincerity when they answer "I don't know," or "I'm not sure" is very attractive. Thus 2 percent have a very positive attitude toward new U.S. President G. Bush, and 4 percent have a negative attitude (2 of every 10 polled Americans have a negative attitude toward G. Bush), while 52 percent "don't know." Many Muscovites have no definite views about Ayatollah Khomeyni, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, Francois Mitterrand, John Paul II, or Daniel Ortega. Fourteen percent don't know whether restructuring will advance socialism or push the country toward capitalism. Thirty-four percent don't know, and a further 5 percent aren't sure, whether God exists (10 percent say yes and 43 percent say no); in Boston, for the sake of comparison, 83 percent say there is a God, against 3 percent who say there is not. One in four Muscovites is not sure which of the two countries is more democratic (28 percent give preference to the USSR, 35 percent to the United States) and as for military strength (26 percent think the USSR is stronger, and 11 percent think it is the United States).

The Americans are more categorical. Sometimes because of greater confidence in themselves and their values, sometimes from ignorance.

Despite this, there is much that the answers have in common. Forty-six percent of those polled in Moscow and 55 percent of those polled in New York agree that "officials take no account of what ordinary people think." Only half the Muscovites and the Americans reject the claim that "ordinary people have no influence on what the government is doing."

The absolute majority of the people polled agreed that "capitalism and socialism must follow the principle: Live and let live, there is enough room in the world for everyone." In Moscow 9 percent of those questioned (against 4-5 percent in U.S. cities) described current Soviet-American relations as "relations of allies," and 1 percent (against 10-13 percent) as hostile. Approximately 50 percent rated the relations as "friendly but not those of allies," and approximately 30 percent as "neither friendly nor hostile." Both the Americans and the Muscovites agree that the USSR and the United States "are entering a new era of peace and cooperation." Between 62 and 72 percent of Americans believe that the Soviet Union is interested mainly in ensuring its security rather than gaining world supremacy. The Muscovites are more vigilant: 38 percent believe that the United States is concerned about its security, while 35 percent believe that it is seeking hegemony.

Experts believe that the poll was entirely representative, the error margin does not exceed 3 percent. Moscow is not the whole country, of course. Incidentally, J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, during a reception for the sociologists at his residence, expressed the hope that they will expand the geographical scope of their polls.

Article Rebuts 'Stolen' Missile Recorder Story

PM0302132189 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) p 5

[Article by V. Voytenko under the rubric "'Radio Voices' Without Interference": "'Argument's' Arguments"]

[Text] This story began 7 July 1987, when a Minuteman ICBM was launched from Vandenberg U.S. Air Force Base in the direction of the Marshall Islands during testing. On board there was a flight recorder to monitor the flight and subsequently provide scientists with data on how successfully the missile functioned.

Everything went normally: The flight ended not far from Kwajalein atoll, and the warhead broke up into pieces, which were picked up and sent to an Energy Department base in Texas. However, when the boxes were unpacked, it turned out that the flight recorder was not among the debris. A group of divers was suited out to enter the lagoon. They combed it five times but discovered nothing.

The Pentagon, or rather its intelligence department, decided to put out the fairytale that the flight recorder had been stolen... by a Soviet submarine. And now, almost 2 years later (it would be interesting to know who needed to drag up this story now, following an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, when the new U.S. President has advocated strengthening detente), Western mass media have suddenly reported that incident. Radio stations, which now broadcast without any interference, have taken up this topic.

Waves of spy mania are not rare for Western mass media. Let us recall the case of the Norwegian radio reconnaissance buoy which "Soviet submariners untethered before the eyes of Norwegians."

The BBC devoted a separate section of its nightly "Argument" program to the missing flight recorder. Vladimir Kozlovskiy, the British radio service's New York correspondent, described how a "local policeman"—not just any old Polynesian who happened along but a representative of authority—had discerned "a submarine's navigation lights" in the lagoon. He had discerned them and compared them with the disposition of the lights of the Soviet submarine "known in NATO circles by the codename 'Whisky.'" There too, on the atoll, an unknown man "of European origin" had also been seen running away.

There is "weighty" material evidence too, the BBC reports. Traces of a Soviet presence—"empty vodka bottles, cigarettes, insect repellents" (!)—were discovered on atolls and islands in the archipelago. To be on the safe side, THE NEW YORK TIMES also added to this list a Soviet peakless cap. It is evidently believed that people set out with such gear to steal U.S. flight recorders.

Although the Pentagon claims that U.S. property was stolen by Soviet sailors who, to judge from the objects heading the list of material evidence, "celebrated" the success of the operation right on the spot, the official U.S. position is that the circumstances of the flight recorder's disappearance remain unknown.

What is the opinion of the "thieves" themselves? We contacted the USSR Navy Main Staff. Admiral K. Makarov, chief of the Main Staff, unequivocally refuted the BBC report.

At a USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center briefing we asked G. Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate, about this. "I have inquired at the central lost property office," he said, "and no flight recorder has been found...."

China

Shevardnadze Concludes Visit to PRC

Talks With Li Peng

PM0402134089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to the PRC Continues"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Feb—Li Peng, CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee member and PRC State Council premier, today received E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister. Greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov were presented to the head of the Chinese Government.

Li Peng expressed satisfaction with the development of the political dialogue between the two countries, which is intensive and rich in content, and stressed the importance of the accord on holding a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting as an act denoting the full normalization of relations. That meeting, he said, will be an event of great political significance. The attention of the whole world is already fixed on it. The meeting is intended to clearly define the principles of relations between the PRC and the USSR and to elaborate guiding reference points for their future development.

E.A. Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet leadership regards the forthcoming summit-level meeting both as a result of the joint efforts of the sides and their understanding of their national interests and the responsibility resting on them for the maintenance of peace and international security, and as the common desire of both states to start a new, more mature phase in their relations and to build these relations on the basis of the universal principles of peaceful coexistence, realism, and reciprocity.

The interlocutors agreed that the changes underway in the USSR and China over the past years, the contacts at the political level, and a qualitatively different atmosphere that is asserting itself inspire the sides with the firm confidence in their mutual readiness and desire to look for mutually acceptable solutions to the problems they currently share and, at the same time, to expand spheres of cooperation. The PRC State Council premier noted that our countries can enrich each other by exchanging experience in restructuring and reform, while they can complement each other in the area of the economy. It was noted that to raise the effectiveness of cooperation, it is necessary to pay special attention to perfecting the infrastructure: the transport network, communication means, and so on; as well as to use more actively new progressive methods in reciprocal trade, production, and scientific and technological developments.

In the course of the discussion, specific questions were touched upon, particularly concerning possibilities of attracting labor resources from China to be used on various national economic projects in the USSR.

As was shown by the exchange of views, both sides understand well that the substantial development of cooperation toward which they are oriented will require no small effort, major joint work, and the creation of the appropriate economic mechanisms.

In examining international questions, the problem of the Cambodian settlement was dealt with. An overall understanding, necessary to have a maximum expansion in the area of agreement and to narrow the sphere of differences in the parties' approaches to the question, was reached.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding.

The second session of the talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen took place in Beijing on 3 February.

Primarily, the interested discussion of questions of a political and organizational character relating to the preparation of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was continued. The sides ascertained that agreement had been reached on these questions. E.A. Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen agreed on a schedule for further contacts connected with preparing and holding this meeting.

A thorough exchange of views on ways of expanding and deepening trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the PRC took place. The expansion of the scale of economic interaction between the Soviet Far East and Siberia and the neighboring provinces of China was noted with satisfaction.

The ministers went on to compare the sides' stances on issues of world politics in its concrete manifestations, with a view to uncovering opportunities for efforts by the two states to resolve and settle international problems.

It was deemed an important point that the USSR and PRC adhere to close conceptual opinions in the way they view the realities of the world today, the dangers of the arms race and military rivalry, the need for a restructuring of international relations and for an increase in the effectiveness of the United Nations and its role as the generally recognized universal center for the discussion and solving of very important problems relating to mankind as a whole.

The problems of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region were examined in both a broad political context and in their individual practical dimensions.

In particular, support was voiced for the strengthening processes on the Korean peninsula on the basis of the proposals of the DPRK Government.

The activity of the Mongolian People's Republic was welcomed, as were its constructive initiatives aimed at strengthening confidence in the region and, against this background, at improving Mongolian-Chinese relations.

Both sides gave a positive assessment of the trend, which is growing stronger in the region, toward a reduction in the level of military confrontation. Of particular significance in this regard are the unilateral steps of the USSR and the PRC to reduce their Armed Forces and cut defense spending.

There was an exchange of opinions on the situation in other regions of the globe where tension and hotbeds of conflicts exist: Afghanistan, the Near East, the Iran-Iraq war, southern Africa, and Central America.

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the in-depth and all-embracing exchange of opinions which took place within the framework of the talks and with its significant political results.

An invitation was conveyed to the PRC foreign minister to pay an official visit to the USSR at his convenience. It was gratefully accepted. The dates of the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

Today E.A. Shevardnadze laid a wreath at the statue to national heroes on Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

That same evening E.A. Shevardnadze arrived from Beijing in Shanghai, where he will meet with PRC leader Deng Xiaoping.

Meets With Deng Xiaoping

PM0502152089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze's Meeting With Deng Xiaoping"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is paying an official visit to China, was received here by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping.

Shevardnadze expressed deep satisfaction with the accorded opportunity to meet Deng Xiaoping and conveyed to him greetings and best wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and from other leaders of the CPSU and the USSR. Gorbachev's personal message was handed over to Deng Xiaoping.

During the talk, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, an extensive exchange of views was held on the key issues of Soviet-Chinese relations and world development, and on those deep-going transformations to renew socialism which are being effected in the USSR and the PRC.

It was pointed out that as a result of mutual efforts, relations between the Soviet Union and China have reached the point of full normalization, and this opens up opportunities for bilateral relations to enter a qualitatively new stage when they, proceeding from the realities of the contemporary world, will be built based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, good-neighborliness, and equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation. This nature of bilateral relations meets with the fundamental long-term interests of the two neighboring socialist countries' peoples, who are engaged in implementing ambitious, peaceful, and creative programs.

In this connection the sides underlined the pivotal importance of Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the People's Republic of China to conduct the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

The task before us is to do away with the past and to open the future, said Deng Xiaoping. This is an exceptionally difficult task because it affects complex issues. Many of them are related to the past. Therefore, in tackling them, one should know the past. But this does not mean that the past should be raked up. Its lessons should be known, remembered, and taken into account in order to move ahead. What is all-important is to open the future.

As I see it, it is precisely our meeting with the Soviet leader that should accomplish this task, the Chinese leader stressed. He also noted that he regarded full normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations as a component of the efforts to achieve the goal—strategic for

China—of increasing its contribution to the consolidation of peace, the creation of a new international political order, and modernization of Chinese society. Deng Xiaoping set out his vision of the ways and means to attain this goal and discussed what has and is being done toward this end.

Laying down China's line in world affairs, he noted that China consistently pursues an independent peaceful policy and strives to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all states of the world.

Shevardnadze expressed the opinion of the consonance of the ideas of new political thinking with Deng Xiaoping's views on the need to move toward a new international political order.

We also hold that a line should be drawn under the past, Shevardnadze said. The truth that fire rather than ashes should be taken from the past should be followed. The assertion of an atmosphere of dialogue and cooperation, which is occurring everywhere in our countries, and the interests of peace and development imperatively turn our eyes toward the future. Two great socialist powers such as the Soviet Union and China can do a great deal to build a better future for both their peoples and the whole of mankind. The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting opens up a broad vista for this.

Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union follows the transformations in the neighboring country with intense interest and attention and wishes the Chinese people success. The publication of Deng Xiaoping's book "The Main Problems of Today's China" in the Soviet Union is an indicator of this interest.

The Chinese leader was informed about the way restructuring is being carried out in the Soviet Union and the peculiarities of its present stage, when implementing the charted course is an urgent task.

The interlocutors paid attention to the problem of a political settlement around Cambodia. The Soviet side noted that its solution had already been shifted to a practical plane and was opening new prospects for cooperation among the countries in the region.

During the conclusion of the talk Shevardnadze warmly congratulated Deng Xiaoping on the coming Chinese spring holiday—the new year on the lunar calendar.

Further on Meetings

PM0502145089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On the Official Visit of the USSR Foreign Minister to the PRC"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet foreign minister, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China 2-4 February 1989.

He was received by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Premier of the PRC State Council Li Peng, and held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. In Beijing Shevardnadze laid a wreath at the monument of fallen popular heroes. The meetings and talks were held within the framework of a dialogue aimed at normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations and holding a bilateral summit for this purpose.

Agreement was reached during the visit on the date of an official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to the People's Republic of China. The visit, due to take place at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China, is scheduled for mid-May. Gorbachev will meet with Comrade Deng Xiaoping; Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; Li Peng, premier of the State Council; and other Chinese leaders.

Shevardnadze discussed with Chinese leaders a number of questions connected with preparations for the Soviet-Chinese summit. It was agreed that its results would be recorded in a joint final document.

The ministers pointed to the crucial importance of the coming visit of the Soviet leader to China for the two countries' relations and for a further strengthening of positive trends in the international situation. The planned summit will mark a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and will lay a solid foundation for the consolidation of good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It meets the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, as well as of all other nations.

Shevardnadze's talks in China showed that both sides realize the need for developing their relations with due account for the present-day conditions, for the universal principals of international communication, for not harming either country's relations with third countries. The future of Soviet-Chinese relations is determined by principles of the new political thinking and a concept of a new international political order. Peaceful coexistence will be a solid basis for them in the sphere of political relations, while in the sphere of economic cooperation it will be equality and mutual advantage.

Participants in the meetings and talks exchanged views on the main aspects of Soviet-Chinese relations from the point of view of their further development, as well as on the key problems of the present-day international situation.

The sides pointed out with satisfaction a noticeable improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations in the past several years. Thanks to joint efforts, their mutually advantageous ties today cover almost all spheres of interstate relations.

It was pointed out that there is extensive potential for the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, for cultural and educational exchanges, and for the development of relations between public organizations. Both sides will promote closer economic cooperation in border areas and, for this purpose, the active use of cooperative forms of economic activities, the use of the other side's manpower, and the creation of joint enterprises, including on a multilateral basis. It is important to take advantage of the experience of transformations carried out in both countries.

The ministers continued the discussion started in Moscow in December 1988 of ways and means to upgrade a political dialogue between the USSR and China. The sides agreed to hold regular meetings of foreign ministers of the two countries. It was deemed expedient to expand consultations on topical problems connected with bilateral relations and world politics.

They discussed in detail possible steps to be taken toward lowering the level of military confrontation between the USSR and China and building confidence in the military sphere. The sides regard as important a mutual balanced reduction of the armed forces and armaments in the regions adjacent to the Soviet-Chinese border to a minimal level.

It was pointed out that after the resumption in 1987 of talks on the settlement of the border issue, government delegations of the two countries had exerted much effort and had achieved progress in the solution of this complicated problem. The sides understand in an identical way the location of the border line in most of the sections of the eastern part of the border. They expressed a mutual desire to discuss questions connected with its western part in a constructive way. Both sides reiterated their intention to act on the basis of equality, mutual understanding, and mutual compliance.

During the discussion of the main international problems, the sides welcomed positive trends in the world situation toward a switch from confrontation to dialogue, from international tension to detente. They went on record in favor of stepping up efforts by all countries for further lessening world tension and stopping the arms race in all spheres.

Both sides are positive that it is necessary to do the utmost to further enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the improvement of the international climate and the settlement of all-human problems.

The ministers discussed the development of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and supported the activization of efforts aimed at ensuring regional military detente, as well as equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation of all the countries in the region. It was emphasized that the lessening of tension in the Korean peninsula and the development of a dialogue between the two Korean states were an important condition for an independent and peaceful unification of Korea, a factor of ensuring peace and stability in the region.

Much attention was devoted at the talks to a political settlement of regional conflicts. It transpired that the sides held similar or identical views on a Middle East settlement, the Iran-Iraqi conflict, and the situations in southern Africa and Central America. The ministers discussed in a profound way various aspects of the Cambodian settlement. The sides reiterated the need for settling this problem only by political means. They went on record in favor of a further quest for ways to resolve the problem and narrow the sphere of differences with due account for the interests of all parties concerned.

The talks were held in a friendly, businesslike, and constructive atmosphere and were characterized by a mutual desire to add dynamism to Soviet-Chinese relations.

On behalf of the Soviet Government Shevardnadze invited the Chinese foreign minister to visit the Soviet Union at a time suitable to him. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

Holds Press Conference

PM0502151289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Press Conference in Beijing"]

[Text] Following the completion of his official visit to the People's Republic of China, Eduard Shevardandze, member of the CPSU Central Committe Politburo and USSR foreign minister, gave a news conference for Chinese and foreign journalists. In his statement he said:

I have just returned from Shanghai, where I had a lengthy meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The principal subject of our talk was the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has defined its general task as follows: to close the past, to open the future.

This aphoristic thought expresses the goal which the Soviet leadership also sets itself. We also agree that the lessons of the past are not conserved in archives but, conversely, are taken up as a means to build new Soviet-Chinese relations, new international relations, and a new world political order—without damage to third country interests and to the benefit and good of the entire world community.

The goals and tasks of the forthcoming top-level meeting were directly correlated to the tasks of restructuring and modernization being carried out in our countries, of enhancing socialism's creative potential, and of achieving the priority of human values in the interests of peace and development.

Mikhail Gorbachev's personal message was handed over to Deng Xiaoping. What would I like to emphasize?

First, we talked a lot about ways to solve the Cambodian problem, focusing attention on prospects that can be opened following its settlement. The Soviet side became acquainted, with great interest, with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's view on this score and set out its views on the factors that will make for success in tackling this problem.

Second, agreement was reached on the date for the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic of China will take place in mid-May of this year.

Third, both the Soviet and Chinese leaderships proceed from the premise that this meeting has as its principal objective the establishment of full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Certainly you understand that Soviet-Chinese relations have reached this point not on their own or due to casual circumstances. The accord reached is a logical and natural phenomenon. Both sides strived for this, and they succeeded through joint efforts in finding mutual understanding, in giving a new beginning to their relations.

I would like to stress that the point at issue is normalization of relations. But when we are talking about a "norm" for two great powers that are permanent members of the UN Security Council and have a long common border, and are, moreover, socialist states, obviously what we have in mind is a very high "norm."

We deem it necessary to clarify that neither we nor the Chinese side think in categories from our past experience. The past remains with us only as a caution for the future. Both sides intend to look forward and go ahead.

Nevertheless, I would like to dwell on one of the lessons of the past. There was a period when those in some capitals followed jealously the other side's contacts with third countries. Time made all of us become convinced of one thing: The more extensive the ties of each country, the more normal they were; the more stable the situation in that country, as well as its relations with the outside world and each state.

We are interested in any partner of ours developing normally and smoothly the most extensive equitable relations and cooperation with other states without exception.

Speculation that Soviet-Chinese normalization can allegedly harm someone are spread precisely by those who would like to exploit the lack of normalization to the detriment of others and to one's selfish advantage.

I dwell in detail on the question of normalization because it is central at this time. It is exactly this question which we intend to "close" at the coming May summit meeting, to close so as to further develop our relations to the benefit of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and in the interests of world peace and global security.

Regarding one more instructive lesson which all of us are duty bound to remember: It is not difficult to spoil relations. This is a process which, once it gets started, develops on its own. It takes much effort, understanding, goodwill, and I would say tact and attention to revert matters to a normal state, a normal channel.

Now I will briefly discuss the talks that have been held. Specifically, they were both a way toward normalization and a part of the normalization that is actually under way.

Let us take the Cambodian problem. Yes, the sides look to what extent their approaches are compatible with their notions about a "norm" in relations with each other. At the same time, it is normal and perfectly natural for the two permanent members of the Security Council to energetically discuss a political settlement of this complex regional conflict, like others, by the way. It is good that they strive to help find solutions acceptable to all parties.

This characteristic—a normal exchange of views in the context of the discussion of questions of normalization—seems to me as a peculiarity of the talks held.

You have an idea about the agenda of the talks and their atmosphere and nature from press reports published.

A very wide range of issues was considered—from philosophical to very concrete, and virtually on the entire spectrum of interstate and international problems.

I'd like to dwell at greater length on the following aspect: In Beijing we set out in detail to our Chinese colleagues the Soviet position on measures of military detente in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border. In fact, the conversation on the essence of Soviet military doctrine based on the principle of defensive sufficiency, which was started in Moscow, was continued in greater detail.

Today this conversation relies on a new reality. First, the Soviet Union will reduce, within the framework of cuts declared by Mikhail Gorbachev in New York, the numerical strength of its troops in the eastern and southern parts of the country by 200,000 and 60,000 men, respectively.

Second, under agreement with the Mongolian Government, three-quarters of Soviet troops stationed there will be withdrawn.

Third, our formations and units deployed near the Soviet-Chinese border will be re-formed to a defensive structure.

Fourth, the Chinese side also cut its armed forces unilaterally.

All this serves as a good background both for normalization and further talks on military doctrines.

It is good that our countries are not afraid of taking unilateral steps. But these can be made within definite limits. It is necessary to conduct talks and find mutual understanding to make further large troop reductions possible. We proposed to the Chinese side to start moving in this direction by agreeing on some common principles. For instance, we could come to agreement on: top-priority reduction in the offensive components of armed forces; disbandment of the reduced units; limitation of the scale and number of military exercises; and establishment of mutual verification of reductions and the operations of remaining units and formations.

We proposed that a group of diplomatic and military experts be set up to examine questions arising in this connection. At the first stage they could get down to preparing a draft agreement on principles of cutting military groups of the sides in border areas.

This work will require time, naturally. But even now the sides could introduce a system of mutual notifications on military exercises and troop movements in border districts. Or they could not increase, on a mutual basis, concentration of troops in any given area.

You see, much can be done in practice to create a situation of absolute confidence in the area of the Soviet-Chinese border. We hope that the summit will also make real progress in this very important area.

I had an exchange of opinions with my colleague on problems of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and in other areas of the world.

I'd like to say the following on this score.

The growing trend (in fact everywhere) for centering on the question of lowering the level of military confrontations cannot help but evoke satisfaction. In this we see an important element of regional realities.

Under these conditions, mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and other large Asian and Pacific countries is also gaining special importance for the region and the entire world.

We connect normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations with wider and more effective cooperation in the economy, trade, scientific and technical development studies; with tackling ecological problems which are known to be acute in our countries; as well as with cooperation in peaceful space explorations.

Our restructuring and Chinese modernization are called upon to open new vistas and create a fresh climate for mutually advantageous relations and exchanges.

Of course we hope for a considerable expansion in human contacts and for an increase in reciprocal flows of information.

Regrettably, I had too little time to familiarize myself better with the life of your beautiful country. Only the trip to the Great Wall of China gave me a chance to have, if I may say so, informal contacts whose participants were visitors to this spectacular and grandiose structure.

I was greatly moved by the people's sincere attitude toward us Soviet representatives. The wall was visited not only by Chinese but also by foreigners. We understood that all of them were glad to see Soviet tourists among the citizens of various countries.

We felt that people on the Great Wall of China hailed the normalization of our relations from the bottom of their hearts.

I should like to say in conclusion that I highly appreciate the attention displayed by the Chinese leaders to our delegation.

We are grateful to Comrade Li Peng, with whom we had a lengthy meeting which enriched our ideas and our vision of problems. We are very thankful to our Chinese colleagues and personally to Comrade Qian Qichen for the open, comradely, and frank atmosphere of the talks and for the fact that we have succeeded in jointly reaching very important and impressive decisions.

We were moved by the hospitality and cordiality of our hosts. Many thanks to them.

Then Eduard Shevardnadze replied to journalists' questions.

Question: Could you tell us when a withdrawal of troops from Mongolia will take place, when the reorganization of the structure of troops on the Soviet-Chinese border will be carried out and, finally, when the group of military and diplomatic experts will meet for the first time?

Answer: As for the schedule of reductions, it has been drafted, in fact, by appropriate joint organs. The schedule will be made public in due time. The entire procedure, the entire process of reductions will be completed in 2 years. We adopted decisions of principle on the expediency of setting up a group of experts. The group will be established and will, perhaps, have time to do some work before the summit.

Question: You have just returned from Shanghai where you met Comrade Deng Xiaoping. What was the atmosphere of the meeting?

Answer: I would say that the atmosphere was very warm, good, and business-like. Many of you know Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He is a man who has accumulated much experience, and his speech abounds with figurative and interesting expressions. The main thing I understood is that he is very optimistic about prospects for improving and fully normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. It was a lengthy meeting. Comrade Deng Xiaoping looks well, and he is in good form. I'm pleased to say this.

Question: You are departing for Pakistan. Do you have any new proposals on establishing peace in Afghanistan? If so, could you describe these proposals?

Answer: I can say what I am absolutely sure about. This is that the last Soviet soldier will leave Afghanistan on 15 February. What is my mission and what are the aims of my talks with the Pakistani side? I think that our common task is to contribute to ending the bloodshed, to stop combat operations and to promote the development of inter-Afghan dialogue. You know that this work has been started, and we shall try with the Pakistani leadership to define necessary ways for promoting the development of precisely this most important process—the inter-Afghan dialogue.

Question: How will interparty relations develop after the Soviet-Chinese summit, and was this topic discussed during your meetings in China?

Answer: Yesterday we discussed the program for Mikhail Gorbachev's stay in China. There will be summit talks; I mean a meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and, above all, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, Comrade Li Peng, and other Chinese leaders. There will be a meeting with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. I think this meeting will signify the resumption of relations between our parties.

Question: There are rumors that the understanding on the summit with Deng Xiaoping was reached at the expense of the Cambodian people and that there will be a bloodbath there after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

Answer: Maybe you paid attention to the fact that in my statement I stressed that Soviet-Chinese normalization, full normalization of our relations, will not be detrimental in any way to third countries, the more so to Cambodia. I think that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will contribute to a settlement of this complicated conflict. We spoke out clearly and unequivocally for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem and for the fact that we should be preoccupied with the solution of international aspects of a settlement. Both sides expressed readiness to stop arms supplies to the warring sides after the withdrawal of foreign troops. We voiced support for the withdrawal of troops. The Soviet Union and China have many spheres of agreement as far as a Cambodian settlement is concerned.

Question: Are you satisfied with the results of your visit, and in what mood are you departing from Beijing?

Answer: I am in good mood. Indeed, the talks were interesting, substantive, and productive.

Question: When will the exact date of the summit meeting be set and whether there will be one more visit of the Chinese foreign minister to Moscow prior to the summit?

Answer: As I understand it, reports already turned up yesterday that the top leaders' meeting had been fixed for mid-May. We will give the exact date later. It is intended for the agenda of visits and meetings of Chinese comrades and the Soviet leadership to be taken into account. As to the Chinese foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union, I think that this visit will hardly take place prior to the summit meeting. However, on behalf of the Soviet leadership I today conveyed to Comrade Qian Qichen an invitation to visit the Soviet Union on an official visit. When this visit will take place is a matter of agreement.

Question: Could you tell us on what specific points of the Cambodian settlement you reached agreement with Chinese leaders, and what differences remain? Since you were staying in the Diaoyutai residence, the same as Sihanouk, why did you decide not to meet him?

Answer: I have already answered on what issues understanding was reached. Back in Moscow we stated—and here we have reaffirmed it—that the Soviet Union and China favor a political settlement of the Cambodian conflict on the basis of national reconciliation.

We welcome the move by the Vietnamese leadership which made public under the agreement with the People's Republic of Kampuchea the timetable for the full withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. We and the Chinese side have mutual understanding on almost all issues concerning the external aspects of settlement, international verification, and international guarantees.

There is an agreement on terminating weapons shipments to the warring parties following the troop withdrawal, and so on. The exchange of views with China on the Cambodian question will be continued. We will try to help develop an inter-Khmer dialogue and to have accords reached among the Cambodians themselves. We got the impression that the laggardness is now in the internal aspects of settlement and they are moving to the fore. I think that both the Chinese side and the Soviet Union are ready to contribute to the development of this process within our capabilities.

As to my meeting with Prince Sihanouk, this issue did not arise and I did not discuss it.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Joint Statement on Cambodia

PM0602101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

["USSR and PRC Foreign Ministers' Statement"]

[Text] During their meeting in Beijing, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen seriously and frankly discussed the problem of a Cambodian settlement, and each of the sides expounded their positions. A coincidence of views with respect to the following is noted:

1. Both sides advocate a speedy, just, and rational resolution of the Cambodian problem by political means, and express their willingness to make efforts to facilitate the realization of this goal.

2. Considering that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is an important component in the political settlement of the Cambodian problem, the sides recognize the decision announced by Vietnam on the complete withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia no later than the end of September 1989, and express the hope that its implementation will boost the process of talks on other aspects of settling the Cambodian problem.

It is intended that after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, there will be no foreign troops or military bases present on its territory.

3. Both sides consider that proportionate to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, all interested states should effect a gradual reduction of military aid to any of the Cambodian sides until it is completely stopped.

4. In the view of the USSR and the PRC, the internal matters of Cambodian should be resolved by the various Cambodian sides on the basis of national reconciliation by way of talks, without any external interference. The USSR and the PRC welcome the dialogue between the four Cambodian sides and express hope for its productive development.

The Chinese side advocated setting up a provisional coalition government in Cambodia with the participation of representatives of the four sides headed by Prince N. Sihanouk.

The Soviet side would support the attainment of accord between the four Cambodian parties in establishing a provisional body under the chairmanship of N. Sihanouk with the participation of representatives of the four parties, which would not be subordinate to any of the Cambodian parties and would include as one of its tasks the attainment of accords between the various Cambodian parties and free elections.

The Soviet Union and China will respect the outcome of future free elections in Cambodia.

5. Both sides express an interest in and consider it essential that following the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia, there should be no dangerous complication of the situation or occurrence of civil war in that country. The parties would welcome the attainment of an agreement between the four Cambodian sides on effective measures to prevent events taking such a course, including, for example, the cessation of all hostile military acts, the freezing of armed forces, and possible subsequent reductions in armed forces.

The Soviet and Chinese sides advocate that there be no return in Cambodia to the policy and practice of the recent past.

The sides consider the creation of an effective international monitoring mechanism and the implementation of strict international monitoring with regard to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the cessation of foreign military aid, the maintenance of peace in Cambodia, and free elections to be necessary and important.

6. The sides consider that in the process of a political settlement of the Cambodian problem, as the conditions are gradually created, the United Nations could play its appropriate role. They express themselves in favor of convening an international conference on the Cambodian problem when the conditions for this are ripe.

7. The sides advocate that after the withdrawal of foreign troops, international guarantees with regard to the status of Cambodia as an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state are to be implemented. The USSR and the PRC state that they are willing to take part in these international guarantees.

8. The sides have agreed to continue the discussion of some aspects of a Cambodian settlement on which differences remain between them.

9. The Soviet Union and China consider that the settlement of the Cambodian problem will facilitate the removal of a source of tension and the improvement of the political situation in Southeast Asia, and will also facilitate peace and stability in this region.

Communique on Visit

OW0502094289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet Union and China have reached agreement on the date of an official visit by Gorbachev to China, which is scheduled for mid-May.

This was announced on Saturday in the official communique on the end of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China. He has been received by Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng and has held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

The two foreign ministers noted: The Soviet leader's upcoming visit to China will be an important turning point and will mark a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. They stressed that the summit meeting is designed to strengthen good-neighborly relations between the two countries and to lay down a solid foundation for consolidating the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, and the whole world.

Both sides noted the importance of the mutual balanced reduction of troops and armaments along Soviet-Chinese border to a minimal level. Both sides welcome the tendency of switching from confrontation to dialogue in the world. Both sides share identical views on stopping the arms race in all its aspects.

Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen stood for solving regional conflicts through negotiations. They reiterated the need for settling the Cambodian issue only by political means.

At a press conference after the conclusion of his visit, Shevardnadze said: Those who play speculative tricks for selfish interest hope to exploit the lack of normalization of relations and shift the responsibility onto others. They spread the slander that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will harm other people.

Shevardnadze arrived in Pakistan at midnight on Saturday. At the Islamabad airport he told reporters that he is devoted to restoring peace and stability in Afghanistan.

He did not give further details of problems that exist in this area.

Seen Off by Qian

LD0402171189 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 4 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, who was in China on an official visit, today left Beijing.

At Beijing's Shoudu airport he was seen off by Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister, and other officials. Oleg Troyanovskiy, ambassador of the USSR to the People's Republic of China, was among the send-off party.

Shevardnadze Talks, PRC Relations Viewed

'Delighted' by Improved Ties

LD0301222289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Excerpts] Hello, comrades. PRC President Yang Shangkun has officially invited Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to visit China. [passage omitted] As you know, comrades, the main aim of the talks is to prepare for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. It marks the complete normalization of relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Needless to say, comrades, we can only be delighted by the fact that, after many years of alienation and mutual distrust, an atmosphere of respect, friendship, and good-neighborliness is now emerging in Soviet-Chinese relations. One should not, of course, expect a return to the euphoria of the fifties, to the slogans such as Fraternal alliance and eternal friendship. Clearly, the tune and the words of the once-popular Moscow-Beijing song cannot be heard today.

As Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said at a reception in Beijing, time dictates new themes. Today Soviet-Chinese relations can be built on the basis of the modern realities in politics, economics, and all spheres of life. We are for cooperation and mutual understanding, for trust and good-neighborliness, and for the extremely rich potential of our relations being fully opened up for the benefit of both countries and for the benefit of the whole world.

Normalization of Ties 'Vital'

PM0402174689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Toward Full Normalization"]

[Text] The official visit by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to Beijing made it possible to conclude what was begun at the December talks in Moscow with his colleague Qian Qichen: to complete direct preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. The time and place have now been finally set. The two countries' leaders will meet in Beijing in mid-May. The two sides reaffirmed their desire for M.S. Gorbachev's talks with Deng Xiaoping and other prominent PRC figures to lead to the full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and to open a new chapter in the history of the neighboring countries.

Both peoples sense the vital need for bilateral relations to return to a normal footing. The largely similar tasks of renewing socialism arouse in them a businesslike interest in each other's successes and failures and a desire to exchange the concrete experience of restructuring and reforms. This fundamentally new atmosphere gives rise to the certainty that each side is prepared to seek mutually acceptable solutions to the problems that exist and at the same time to widen the spheres of cooperation.

The foreign ministers' exchange of visits demonstrated the mutual desire for the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting to yield the maximum practical results. This applies both to the documents that could be signed in the course of the meeting and to formulation of the principles on which Soviet-Chinese relations will develop. The USSR would like to establish firmly in these relations an atmosphere of trust and mutual observance of such principles as respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for each other's interests, views, experience, and practice.

The preparations for the meeting between the two countries' leaders revealed the similarity of politico-philosophical views on problems of modern-day development. The concept of a new international political order, recently put forward in Beijing, is fundamentally consonant with the principles of the new political thinking by which Moscow is guided. The two great socialist powers that are permanent members of the UN Security Council have a special responsibility for mankind's survival, the restructuring of international relations, and the creation of a new world political order. Behind all this lie such concrete objectives as disarmament, from nuclear and chemical to conventional; security in Asia; the settlement of regional conflicts; and the resolution of global problems.

All of these spheres offer wide scope for cooperation. Lowering the level of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border and making it a zone of peace, friendship, good-neighborliness, and active collaboration between border regions; supporting the idea of nuclear-free zones on the Korean peninsula and in Southeast Asia; and coming out in defense of the ecological purity of the Pacific Ocean basin—in these and many other areas the Soviet Union and China could act in coordination or in parallel. Discussing problems of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, the ministers assessed positively the increasingly strong trend there toward the lowering of the levels of military confrontation and the strengthening of trust. In this respect unilateral steps by the USSR and the PRC to reduce their Armed Forces and cut defense spending are particularly significant.

As at their previous meetings, the foreign ministers devoted considerable attention to the Cambodian problem and exchanged opinions on how the USSR and the PRC could promote the elimination of that regional conflict. There have recently been positive developments in the Asian political arena that favor this. Chinese-Indian relations have risen to a qualitatively new level. Direct dialogue has been resumed between Beijing and Hanoi. The visit to the Chinese capital by the Vietnamese first deputy foreign minister laid the foundations for a process that is of key significance for the normalization of the situation in the region. Another successful breakthrough along this path was the visit by the PRK prime minister to Thailand. This is valuable both for a Cambodian settlement and for future relations between the two neighboring groups of states. The idea put forward in Bangkok of transforming Indochina "from a battlefield into a zone of cooperation and trade" could pave the way for Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to join ASEAN, which would undoubtedly promote the true transformation of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation.

The cause of the renewal of socialism, the cause of restructuring and reforms, requires the Soviet Union and China to set about restructuring their bilateral ties too. The main theme of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue is peace and development. Moscow and Beijing, in setting the goal of normalizing bilateral relations, are aware that this will have a twofold effect. It will help to more fully uncover socialism's potential in the USSR and the PRC and their potential for collaboration. At the same time it will form an integral part of the building of a fundamentally new system of international relations and will improve the situation in the region and in the world.

PRC Journalists Welcome Visit

PM0302121989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents I. Golembiovskiy and Yu. Savenkov dispatch under the rubric "Event: Substance and Opinions": "The USSR and China: Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] Beijing—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, flew into Beijing late on the evening of 1 February. His official visit to China had begun.

Movement between Moscow and Beijing was once regular and intensive. Various delegations were sent, including very high-ranking ones, but the foreign ministers did not exchange visits. At the airport E.A. Shevardnadze spoke of his good expectations regarding his meeting with a great country, whose people, under the leadership of the CPC, are successfully implementing ambitious plans to effect socialist transformations; he also spoke of his hopes that the talks would promote further favorable changes in Soviet-Chinese relations.

"A great deal has already been done in this direction," E.A. Shevardnadze said. "The visit by my esteemed colleague, Comrade Qian Qichen, to Moscow in December last year signified a major step in this direction. During the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the PRC foreign minister and our talks together, an accord was reached on a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Our visit here—the first official visit by a Soviet foreign minister to China—is intended to complete the direct preparation for this meeting, whose date will, I hope, be agreed on during the next few days. We are sure that it will open a new chapter in the history of these neighboring countries.

"We are embarking on these talks aware of the scale of the forthcoming event and its enormous significance for normalizing bilateral relations and improving the situation in the region and the world."

Qian Qichen told reporters at the airport: "The Soviet foreign minister's visit to China is a continuation of the process of normalizing Chinese-Soviet relations, which began 2 months ago during my visit to Moscow. It is also part of preparing for the Chinese-Soviet summit meeting."

The foreign journalists gathered at the airport included not only those accredited in Beijing but also some who had flown especially from the United States, Britain, and other countries to cover the Soviet-Chinese dialogue. There was a particularly large number of Japanese correspondents who work in Moscow.

On Thursday morning, in the House of People's Assemblies in the country's main square, Tiananmen Square, the official talks between the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers began.

Describing their mission as important and responsible, E.A. Shevardnadze said to his Chinese colleague that this is their fifth meeting in the past year and that this fact alone says a great deal. "But the main thing is the importance of maintaining our meetings," the Soviet foreign minister emphasized.

The talks between the two ministers are continuing.

PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has said that one of the main successes of Chinese diplomacy last year was the improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. His visit to our country was fruitful. Now Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze is paying a reciprocal visit to China. What do you expect to come out of this visit?

We put this question to two correspondents from XINHUA: Wang Chongjie and Shen Yiming, whom we met in the agency building on "West Street by the Xuanwu Gates," No 57. The gates, incidentally, are no longer there and the old wall and tower have likewise disappeared—the modern city needed space. XINHUA is also growing. A new, multistory building is shooting upward, but we had our conversation within the old walls, which have great associations for our interlocutors.

They are well known journalists—members of the editorial collegium of XINHUA's international department. Both are "correspondents of the highest rank" (the highest level in the table of ranks). Not even every chief editor is bestowed with this title. Only the authoritative Chinese national commission can establish this rank. Their journalistic life is connected with the Soviet Union. Each of them has spent a total of 10 years working in our country. Wang graduated from Leningrad University and Shen graduated from the Beijing Russian Language Institute. Shen began working for XINHUA in 1949, the year the PRC was formed, and Wang started work there in 1957, although he made contact with Russian-Soviet culture during the years of the war against Japan in the liberated regions.

"The visit by Comrade Shevardnadze is an important stage in the preparations for the upcoming summit meeting. The ministers will undoubtedly discuss in more detail what they started talking about in Moscow," our interlocuters believed.

"The international climate is now favorable for the complete normalization of our ties," Shen Yiming said. "A chain reaction of political settlements in the world's 'hotspots' began after the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. There is also now a hope of resolving the Cambodian problem, which is being comprehensively discussed."

Wang Chongjie agreed with his colleague and added:

"The new political thinking in foreign policy proposed by Gorbachev in 1985 is accordingly being given new substance."

In addition to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan which has now begun, Wang highlighted the following two points: the start of the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles after the ratification of the treaty and the decision to make unilateral reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces, announced by M.S. Gorbachev from the UN rostrum.

"You have witnessed different periods in our relationship, its ups and downs. You have not been watching these peaks and troughs from the sidelines...."

"There have been enough of these ups and downs," Wang Chongjie replied. "Tension, mistrust, enmity, even confrontation grew in the time of the 'great friendship' and 'alliance.' The time has now come to take a sensible look at all this on the basis of present-day world realities. We should not try to return the past—stability is what we need. I am optimistic about the future of our ties. There are now good foundations for this. Our relationship has become more open and mature. The enormous changes in China and our own restructuring are the pivot of this relationship."

"Never have we had so much in common—in our views on socialism or on the modern world," Shen Yiming said decisively. "I have worked in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Gorbachev (I returned last year, after my most recent posting). We have traveled an agonizing path and suffered a great deal. Previously, for example, we did not understand the role of market forces under socialism and regarded them as a bourgeois feature. Common national ownership was considered the only correct form of ownership, and so forth. Now we are naturally following the socioeconomic transformations in our countries and learning from one another's successes and failures. Academician Aganbegyan recently told Chinese journalists of his attempts to study China's experience in overcoming inflation and to learn something from its experience of rural reform."

"That is precisely," Wang Chongjie added, "how relations should be—open. We must use both positive and negative experience. In the past we told each other only what the other side wanted to hear. When, during my travels around the Soviet Union, I saw an unpleasant picture in many places, my enlightenment was a bitter experience. Now I can well understand your critical appraisal of the film 'The Kuban Cossacks....' Our efforts toward cooperation now often leave behind the framework and forms in which that cooperation has traditionally developed. We must break down the barriers and seek new paths."

"Recently," Shen Yiming concluded the conversation, "Wang and I were approached by a businessman from Jilin: He wants to open a photographic studio in your country and is looking for a partner. The search for partners has become a characteristic feature of our ties in the era of greater independence in foreign economic affairs. Our journal 'BRIDGE' is also looking for a partner; the journal is going to be published in Russian. The publishers are the Chinese National Association of Journalists, and I have been appointed chief editor. We will discuss reform and the changes in society and Soviet-Chinese cooperation. The idea, incidentally, is reflected in the title. Regarding the future of our relations, I, like many others, am optimistic. Wang's son, incidentally, is working as a Russian translator for a metal and ore export-import association. He recently went on a trip to Moscow, and he is a good lad."

After a pause, Shen Yiming added:

"Incidentally, he speaks Russian better than Wang."

Announcement of Gorbachev-Deng Summit Hailed

Pogodin Views Meeting

LD0602151189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] When Mikhail Gorbachev visits China in the middle of May, the top leaders of the two countries will formulate the principles of a new type of Soviet-Chinese relations. The agreement reached on this point is the main result of the visit to China of the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

It seems to me that the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has expressed very well the objective of the coming summit in May. He said it was necessary to close the past and open the future. The two sides seek to fully normalize their relations and lay a firm foundation of good-neighborliness and cooperation between them. Such an approach became possible when the principled stands of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on key problems of today grew closer. The conception of a new political thinking advanced by Moscow is in many respects close to Beijing's idea of a new political order.

There are many major problems on which the positions of the two sides are very close, and that includes different views of disarmament. What is especially important: the two sides begin to see eye-to-eye on questions on which only recently they used to differ. That includes the Kampuchean settlement, though differences on certain aspects still remain, but this is quite natural and the sides have agreed to continue their discussions.

In other words, there is a clearly expressed desire on both sides to find mutual understanding. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are both permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and therefore when their stands on major issues go closer this helps to consolidate peace and stability both in certain regions and in the world on the whole.

And there's also another important aspect to all this: The natural desire of the two socialist countries, of the two neighbors, to fully normalize relations and develop cooperation and interaction can do no harm to their relations with third countries.

World Press Focuses on Visit

OW0602123889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 6 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] One of the main topics of the international press today is the agreement to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit in China. The agreement was reached during Comrade Shevardnadze's recent visit to the PRC. Let me remind you: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will visit the PRC 15-18 May this year.

There have been many responses to this news. I will limit myself to but a few. Japan's ASAHI says that the meeting, which will be the first in 30 years, will herald a new phase in Soviet-Chinese relations. THE WASHINGTON POST says: The meeting should officially put an end to the tension in relations between the two largest communist powers. France's L'HUMANITE stresses that the forthcoming meeting will undoubtedly become the most important event of the year.

PRC Labor Delegation Signs Moscow Agreement

LD2801173289 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—A delegation of the Ministry of Labour of the People's Republic of China, led by Deputy Minister Li Boyong stayed in the Soviet Union on January 23-28.

The delegation visited our country through the International Labour Organisation to study the experience of transformations in the social-and-labour sphere.

The Chinese delegation was received by Chairman of the USSR State Labour Committee Ivan Gladiy. An exchange of opinions was held on a broad range of questions linked with solution of problems of stimulating productive labour, employment, vocational training and social development.

An agreement was signed on cooperation between departments on a contractual basis. It provides for mutual study of experience of work in the sphere of labour economy, including exchange of information, normative documents, scientific research results and also delegations of specialists for consultations, lectures and training.

Education Cooperation With PRC Increasing

LD0602120189 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 6 TASS—This year Soviet higher educational establishments will receive some 600 researchers, post-graduates and students from China, while 320 Soviet trainees and students will study at Chinese higher educational establishments, reports the XINHUA news agency.

Soviet-Chinese relations in education resumed in 1983 when the sides exchanged the first groups of trainees after a long interval. As Soviet-Chinese relations were improved, cooperation between the two countries was steadily expanded in education.

The exchange of teachers resumed in 1985. Today over 40 Soviet philologists lecture in Chinese institutes. The exchange of educators' delegations is also increasing.

The establishment of direct inter-institute contacts is another important element of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. At present they are established between the Moscow and Beijing Universities, Leningrad Polytechnic and Qinhua Polytechnic (Beijing) institutes. All in all, nine higher educational establishments on each side participate in inter-institute contacts.

Soviet and Chinese research institutions studying educational questions are also engaged in cooperation. A Soviet-Chinese seminar on restructuring the higher educational system will be held this year.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Visits Pakistan, Meets Leaders

Arrives 4 Feb

LD0402204689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2028 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad, 4 Feb (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in Pakistan today for a short working visit.

He was greeted at Islamabad airport by S. Yaqub Khan, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and other officials. The USSR ambassador in Pakistan, V.P. Yakunin, was among the welcoming party.

The visit agenda envisages meetings between E.A. Shevardnadze and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan, the country's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and S. Yaqub Khan, minister of foreign affairs.

Addresses Newsmen

LD0502001689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0001 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Islamabad, 5 Feb (TASS)—[passage omitted]

E.A. Shevardnadze addressed journalists at the [Islamabad] airport, saying that he had come to Islamabad to discuss Soviet-Pakistani relations. Moreover, the Soviet minister pointed out, ways of establishing peace in Afghanistan will also be considered during the visit. We hope, E.A. Shevardnadze said, for a deep, specific, and

useful discussion of the problems awaiting solutions. In conclusion, he expressed confidence that good prospects existed for a more intensive development of Soviet-Pakistani cooperation.

S. Yaqub Khan, Pakistani minister of foreign affairs, also addressed the journalists. He spoke of Pakistan's intention to discuss the existing problems in all seriousness. Pakistan wishes to develop relations with the Soviet Union in a spirit of mutual trust, the Pakistani minister said.

Meets Leaders

LD0502174889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad, 5 Feb (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who is on a brief working visit here, met today with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan of Pakistan. During their conversation, a number of international and regional problems were touched upon, including matters relating to an Afghan settlement and the state of and prospects for development of Soviet-Pakistani relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze evaluated the main tendencies in the international situation and drew attention to the USSR's foreign policy initiatives expounded in M.S. Gorbachev's address at the United Nations. In this context, emphasis was laid upon the importance of restructuring international relations on the basis of all states recognizing the priority of universal human values over ideological and other differences.

Opinions were exchanged on a package of issues connected with an Afghan settlement. Criticisms were directed at Pakistan by the Soviet side in connection with Pakistan's failure to observe the obligations of the Geneva accords on settling the Afghan problem. It was stressed that the main thing now is to put an end to the fratricidal war in Afghanistan, the continuation of which will mean further destabilization of the regional situation, for Pakistan, too.

All states, especially those taking direct part in the Geneva accords, must apply maximum efforts for stopping the bloodshed and restoring peace in that country, in the conditions when no Soviet troops are being left in Afghanistan and the stage of an exclusively internal Afghan settlement is starting. This purpose may be achieved only on the basis of national reconciliation, overcoming inter-Afghan disputes by finding mutually acceptable compromises, and creating a state structure in the country that would properly represent all strata of Afghan society. The Afghan problem cannot be resolved militarily, the Soviet minister stressed.

The Pakistani president agreed with him.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted that a speedy political settlement of the Afghan problem would open broad prospects for developing mutually beneficial Soviet-Pakistani economic cooperation and would make it possible to exploit all the reserves available in that area.

The USSR foreign minister recalled the pledge made by Pakistan to assist in freeing and repatriating as soon as possible the Soviet servicemen captured by the armed Afghan opposition.

In this connection, Ghulam Ishaq Khan said that at one time the Soviet Union had helped Pakistan to solve a similar humanitarian task. He stated that his country will make further efforts in that direction.

The president reiterated Pakistan's unchanging desire to establish relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between the two countries and step up Soviet-Pakistani cooperation, above all in trade and economics. He spoke of Pakistan's interest in achieving a final political settlement to the Afghan problem and the Pakistani leadership's intention to act in this direction.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed an invitation to Ghulam Ishaq Khan to make an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The time of the visit is to be agreed through diplomatic channels.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a conversation with Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of Pakistan.

They discussed topical issues of the contemporary situation in the world, problems connected with the settlement in Afghanistan, and also the prospects for invigorating and developing Soviet-Pakistani relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze familiarized the prime minister with the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the aims of his visit to Pakistan, the Soviet Minister set out an evaluation of the situation in Afghanistan and around it, and drew attention to its transition to a wholly new quality. In a few days time there will not be a single Soviet soldier remaining in Afghanistan. This does not mean the Soviet Union is distancing itself from Afghan problems or that it is indifferent to how the situation will develop in that neighboring country.

As a guarantor of the political settlement it intends to continue to act energetically in the interests of a stable political settlement in Afghanistan, striving first and foremost for an end to bloodshed there and the establishment of a constructive dialogue between all the conflicting sides. In connection with this the Soviet proposals for a ceasefire throughout Afghanistan with a simultaneous cessation of arms supplies to the warring sides, made from the rostrum of the UN General Assembly, retain their topicality.

Setting up an administration acceptable to all Afghans could serve as a genuine alternative to continuation and expansion of the civil war in Afghanistan.

The Pakistani prime minister stressed the interest in the process underway in the Soviet Union, which have, in her words, become a factor of international significance.

B. Bhutto provided information on the state of affairs within Pakistan in conditions of the transition from a military dictatorship to assertion of democratic principles.

We believe, she said, that the Afghan problem cannot be solved by military means and we are in favor of its peaceful settlement. B. Bhutto stated her government's desire to facilitate to the utmost the rapid attainment of peace in Afghanistan in accordance with the hopes of the Afghan people.

Pakistan's desire to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union was voiced.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's intention to expand and deepen Soviet-Pakistani relations and expressed the hope that a just settlement to the situation in Afghanistan in would open up favorable opportunities for reaching new frontiers.

There was an examination of certain specific matters of bilateral cooperation in the political sphere, trade and economic, science and technology, and other areas.

The talks passed off in an atmosphere of frankness [otkrovennosti] and mutual understanding.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to B. Bhutto an invitation to make an official visit to the Soviet Union at a time convenient for her. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

E.A. Shevardnadze had talks with S. Yaqub Khan, minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

There was a many-layered exchange of opinions on the main trends of the development of the present-day world and on positive changes in international relations.

Yaqub Khan highly assessed the Soviet Union's policy as a factor promoting the consolidation of these positive changes. He specially highlighted the significance of the philosophical concepts and practical initiatives contained in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN.

Pakistan's minister of Foreign Affairs welcomed the ideas on security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region set out by the Soviet leader in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk.

In Yaqub Khan's opinion, the Soviet Union and Pakistan have close and compatible views on many aspects of modern politics and could fruitfully act in concert. An exception is the Afghan problem, where serious divergences exist between the sides.

In this connection, E.A. Shevardnadze proposed that they focus attention on the Afghan problem. He recalled that our two countries were directly involved in the Afghan situation and were signatories to the Geneva agreements.

We may have different views on particular aspects of a settlement, but both the Soviet Union and Pakistan must fulfill equally the commitments they have taken upon themselves under these agreements. Unfortunately, so far the conduct of the sides has not been symmetrical and equivalent in regard to observing the internatinal accords.

Now that the Soviet troops have effectively been withdrawn from Afghanistan and are no longer in the capital of that country, the Pakistani factor is at the forefront.

Pakistan undoubtedly has the ability to influence the Afghan armed opposition groups which are based on its territory to ensure that they be realistic and responsible and stop counting on a military solution, which is merely prolonging the bloodshed in Afghanistan and is fraught with serious complications for the whole region adjacent to Afghanistan.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed the hope that the new Pakistani administration will back up with real deeds its support for the latest consensus resolution of the UN General Assembly, and will contribute to the establishment of peace on Afghan territory.

The Soviet side proposed that a joint declaration be issued in favor of a ceasefire and the establishment of a constructive dialogue between all sides.

Yaqub Khan stated that the Pakistani government understands the Soviet concern over the situation in Afghanistan, shares it, and is willing to examine the Soviet side's proposal.

The Pakistan side expressed an interest in the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between Pakistan and the USSR.

E.A. Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's willingness to develop trade and economic ties with Pakistan.

In Islamabad, E.A. Shevardnadze met Agha Khan, special UN coordinator of the aid programs to Afghanistan. During their conversation, Agha Khan reported on measures which have been undertaken through UN channels to provide humanitarian aid to Afghanistan and on the

supply of food and fuel to Kabul and other towns. He noted that he was doing everything possible to ease the situation of the Afghan population, which is suffering from a lack of necessities.

E.A. Shevardnadze highly appraised the UN activity in this area and stressed that the aid programs being coordinated by Agha Khan could play an important role in resolving many humanitarian problems relating to the present situation in Afghanistan, and in easing the difficulties which the Afghan population are encountering.

Discusses Afghan 'Problem'

LD0502224789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast, with foreign news presenter Igor Kudrin]

[Text] [Kudrin] I will start with the event on which the attention of the world public and the foreign press is focused today. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze is in Pakistan on a working visit. Our special correspondent Vitaliy Ilyashenko reports from Islamabad:

[Ilyashenko] The Pakistani capital is comfortably situated in a valley at the foot of the Himalayas. One can feel particularly strongly the territorial proximity of our two countries here—they are separated only by a mountain range. But the Himalayas have never been an obstacle for developing good-neighborly relations. And the 11 years of the military regime did not erase respect for our country or the Pakistanis' efforts to maintain friendship with us. Therefore, Comrade Shevardnadze's visit—incidentally, the first visit by a Soviet minister of foreign affairs in the entire history of relations between our countries—is viewed with great interest and expectations here. The local press and political leaders stress that it opens up broad opportunities for deepening Soviet-Pakistani relations, solving the Afghan problem in a peaceful way and improving the whole situation in the South Asia.

It was night in Islamabad when Comrade Shevardnadze arrived in Pakistan's capital. At the foot of the airplane ramp he was warmly welcomed by Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan, prominent national political and public figures, and Yakunin, Soviet ambassador in Pakistan. [video shows the welcoming ceremony]

Comrade Shevardnadze made a brief statement to journalists.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] First, I would like to say that this is apparantly the first visit by a Soviet minister in the history of Soviet-Pakistani relations. Perhaps this is no accident. Problems have been accumulating; there are very many of them from the point of view of the development of Soviet-Pakistani bilateral relations. There is the problem of Afghanistan—the most acute and serious problem of which you are well aware. You know that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is to be completed on 15 February, and in connection with this new problems and questions are emerging. We, the Soviet leadership, felt the need to consult the Pakistani leadership about which way would be the best for us to promote the establishment of peace and quiet on Afghan soil.

As I see it, tomorrow we will have intensive talks with Mr Yaqub Khan, which will start in the morning. Then a meeting with the prime minister and the president has been planned. Meetings with other figures can take place, too. I was told that Agha Khan, the representative, was going to come here, so we will talk with him, too. This is our program.

I count on an in-depth, concrete, and useful discussion of the complex and difficult problems that await solution. I said at the beginning that we would be also discussing the problems of bilateral Soviet-Pakistani relations and I would not wish for them to be pushed into the background. Traditionally we have had good economic, trade, cultural, and scientific relations. In the new stage, there are very good prospects for developing our cooperation more intensively. [end recording] [video shows Shevardnadze, Yaqub Khan and the Soviet interpreter surrounded by journalists]

[Ilyashenko] This morning talks were held between Comrade Shevardnadze and Yaqub Khan, the Pakistani foreign minister, at the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They discussed the world situation; and in particular attention was paid to the problem of a political settlement in Afghnistan and the observance of the Geneva accords. Comrade Shevardnadze noted that the Soviet Union is very determined to fulfill its pledges under those agreements. But the withdrawal of Soviet troops alone does not solve the Afghan problem. It is necessary to urgently take all possible measures to stop further bloodshed in Afghanistan, and ensure dailogue between the conflicting sides and the creation of a coalition government which would be acceptable to all Afghans. Pakistan could also play an important role in this process.

A conversation between Comrade Shevardnadze and Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's prime minister, has taken place in a warm and relaxed atmosphere. They exchanged views on a broad range of bilateral relations and international problems. Bhutto spoke of striving to expand trade and other links with our country. She declared they would strive to promote peace in Afghanistan as soon as possible. Comrade Shevardnadze confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to develop cooperation with Pakistan and expressed the hope that a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan would raise Soviet-Pakistani relations to a new level. [video shows Shevardnadze, Bhutto, and Yaqub Khan talking]

Comrade Shevardnadze also had a conversation today with Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, at the presidential palace. [video shows the reception]

Ends Visit, Leaves for Home

LD0602101589 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad Feb 6 TASS— Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Islamabad for home on Monday where he had been on a short working visit.

At the airport he was seen off by Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan and other officials.

Last Soldier To Leave Afghanistan 'On Schedule'

PM0402164089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Reportage by special correspondents Nikolay Sautin, Vladimir Svartsevich from the Soviet-Afghan border: "The Bridge of Waiting"]

[Excerpt] The steel spans of the bridge that crosses the dark waters of the Amu-Darya have seen many happy meetings and much grief. The bridge, called "Friendship," does not only join two cities—our Termez and Afghanistan's Hayraton—but Afghanistan's main highway begins from here, leading to Kabul and Jalalabad... all the way to the Pakistani border. It was along this highway that the first Soviet regiments returned home after fulfilling with honor their international and military duty. And today lines of vehicles stretch out to our bank. No combat vehicles yet: The rear services are leaving.

By night, other vehicles still cross the bridge—medical vehicles. In the dark—when there is less risk—the wounded are shipped to Hayraton by helicopter. Then by road to the Termez military hospital. The fighting is not over yet. Medical vehicles will be crossing tonight, too, and tomorrow night.... The last Soviet soldier will cross the Afghan-Soviet border on the night of 14-15 February [v noch na 15 fevralya].

The Geneva agreements are being fulfilled by the Soviet side strictly, and on schedule. [passage omitted]

30,000 Troops Withdrawn in 2d Stage

LD0602074989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Termez (southern border of USSR), 6 Feb (TASS)—Today the paratroop regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandr Skachkov arrived from the territory of Afghanistan at the border town of Termez, which is situated in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan.

A meeting took place on the Soviet bank of the Amu-Darya, in which thousands of inhabitants and guests of the town, and servicemen and relatives of the returning soldiers and officers took part. Over 300 Soviet and foreign journalists were present at the meeting.

A spokesman of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Naval Fleet told TASS correspondents that according to the program for the second stage of withdrawal of Soviet troops within the framework of the Geneva Accords, over 30,000 troops have already left the Republic of Afghanistan. Subdivisions of Soviet troops remained in five provinces Balkh, Samangan, Parwan, Baghlan, and Herat. By 15 February the last Soviet soldier will have left Afghanistan, he said.

Peaceful aid from the Soviet Union to its southern neighbor is continuing: in the last few days alone 4,500 tonnes of flour, a large quantity of other food, and industrial goods have been supplied to Afghanistan from the USSR.

'Last Soviet Soldier' Leaves Kabul

PM0502173289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondents A. Gorokhov, V. Okulov report: "South of the Amu-Darya"]

[Excerpt] Salang, Pol-e Khomri, and Termez, 5 Feb—The last Soviet soldier left Kabul yesterday. Our defensive roadblocks [bloki] were removed along the road from the Afghan capital as far as the Bagram intersection, and the next day even further, to Jabal os Saraj. In the western salient, two columns left Shindand for Towraghondi, toward the Koshk River. The Soviet units will leave Shindand on 6 February. Also today (6 February), when this issue of the newspaper comes out, there is to be the first meeting in Termez, in southern Uzbekistan, to greet the columns reaching the Soviet bank.

"No surprises?" we asked Lieutenant Colonel B. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, yesterday.

"Everything is going according to plan. But although we expected it to be difficult in Salang, we did not expect it to be that difficult."

Today four big avalanches converged on the columns: Three people died and one was injured. Another tragedy: While the handover of automotive equipment to the Afghan side was taking place on the outskirts of Kabul, in the so-called Teplyy Stan, terrorists threw several grenades from behind a stone wall. Three of our officers were wounded.

The columns are not being fired on...

...The work of staffs and operational groups, hard for reporters to grasp; the anxious vigil at posts and roadblocks; the harsh roar of motors on icy highways; the commotion involved in moving large masses of people and equipment over long distances—everything that can be defined only by the words: the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan—is now taking place in the areas south of the Amu-Darya from Kabul to Hayraton and from Shindand to Towraghondi. The epicenter of our Afghan epic, now drawing to a close, has shifted to the roads, concentrating here a powerful mixture of destinies, circumstances, actions, and decisions. [passage omitted]

Greeting Planned for Returning Troops

LD0502191789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] At the present time, a mobile correspondents unit of the All-Union Radio has begun to work on the southern border of the USSR. Over to Termez; our special correspondent, Vladimir Bezyeyev is there. Good evening!

[Bezyeyev] Good evening listeners. Not only did our mobile correspondents unit start working an hour ago, but a press center also started work, and at the moment a press conference is still going on attended by such a number of journalists...well, you, Gennadiy, have often covered events in international life, and have been in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center, and just try to imagine what it's like: 150 foreign correspondents alone have arrived in this town.

Well, tomorrow is officially the final stage in the withdrawal of Soviet troops; and at this press conference I was able to learn the following: The convoy traffic is actively continuing. Some units of the Kabul garrision are to leave tomorrow; and in Kabul itself, small units have remained.

Well, in order to imagine what is going on in the city at present in the literal sense, there has been such an influx of journalists, and such an influx of parents who dream of meeting their boys tomorrow or the day after that (?here) and in the press center all hotel rooms are personally allocated by the chairman of the city Gorispolkom.

Well, this war is coming to an end, and we shall have time to think about it, but now I would like to say the main thing: Everyone here is waiting impatiently for our boys. Nevertheless, they fulfilled their international duty with honor. They are being met by Komsomol members; they are being met with flowers, gifts, and a new life is beginning for them.

But perhaps one should add that the weather here is fine and dry. Roses have even blossomed a little. It smells like spring, and, maybe the boys will actually be met with bouquets of the first flowers even though it isn't all that warm here, alas.

But here are some facts. Tomorrow there will be an official meeting, and our mobile correspondents unit will begin working directly on the border at the Peace Bridge over the Amu-Darya, which connects the Soviet town of Termez and the Afghan town of (Hayratan).

Well, it only remains for me to add that you will get all the news daily from the morning, both on the First Program [Moscow Domestic Service], on Mayak Radio, and also on the youth channel of radio station Yunost—that is the Third All-Union Program. There will be discussion of this on the "Evening Courier" program. Well, we hope to broadcast the most up-to-date news for listeners of the First Program at 1000 [0700 GMT] when the meeting at the border starts. That's all Gennadiy; that's all I have.

[Announcer] Thank you, Termez. Goodbye.

Martial Law in Kabul After Peace Offers Ignored

LD0502145289 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 5 Feb 89

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Tyssovskiy and Andrey Greshnov]

[Text] Kabul, Feb 5 TASS—Thousands of people, many of them carrying arms, braved freezing temperatures today to converge on the peace avenue in Kabul. Marching in the crowd were workers and office employees, traders and intellectuals, grey-haired elders and youths. All of them are members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Democratic Youth Organisation. Each carries a red flag with the PDPA emblem. Helicopters are patrolling in the sky over the city. The artillery fire rings out in the suburbs where Army units are pounding the positions of the intractable opposition in Paghman and other regions, from where they stage raids on the capital. For the purpose of ensuring the security the armed units of people's militia and volunteers stepped up control over the deliveries arriving in the capital and are searching vehicles.

Kabul is now under martial law. The party and state leadership extended on many occasions the olive branch of peace and national accord to the opposition, including its more extremist factions. But the peace proposals are not the only means at the disposal of the government.

"With the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the capital tensions started to rise," Daud Razmyar, first secretary of the Kabul city committee of the PDPA, told TASS correspondents. "As many as 20,000 party members came here to display their readiness to uphold the revolutionary gains of the past 10 years and

to defend the city from the enemy attacks. We have distributed weapons among party organisations in Kabul, so that every one of us could defend the cause, for which the Afghan people suffered so many losses."

The extremist wing of the opposition does not have any hopes of capturing the capital immediately following the departure from the city of the last Soviet soldier. Therefore it banks on undermining the regime from within, on sabotage and the use of the economic hardships which arose as a result of the blockade imposed by them. Kabul gave shelter to hundreds of thousands of refugees from the areas of hostilities. Along with them, the agents of the "fifth column" also infiltrated with the aim of inciting the gullible portion of the population to step up counter-revolutionary activity. Today's demonstration is in response to these schemes.

Among the demonstrators is an employee of the printing shop for the Ministry of Higher Education, Nafas Jan Afghani. "I came here with my workmates because people's power gave ordinary people, and especially women, the possibility to live in a new way. It is our common duty to defend it at the hour of trial," she said.

Afghan President Najibullah addressed the meeting.

[Moscow World Service in English at 1400 GMT on 5 February in a similar report adds the following: "Addressing a rally, President Najibullah again called (?to) the opposition for national reconciliation and urged the refugees to return home. He said Afghanistan belonged to all the Afghans. At the same time, the president reiterated the resolve to defend the revolutionary gains to the end. Najibullah censured the United States and Pakistan for their shipments of arms to the opposition."]

Najibullah Says PDPA 'Will Not Retreat'

LD0502215389 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul Feb 5 TASS—Members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan are ready to defend peace and freedom of the Afghan people, Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the republic, has said. He addressed a rally held in one of the central districts of Kabul. In this difficult period in the life of the Afghan state members of the party are ready to fight a resolute battle. The party is proud that it has thousands of dedicated members—members of regional and primary party organisations, fighters for the happiness of the nation. Our party has lived through difficult times, many of its heroes perished in the struggle for the just cause. Today our motherland is facing the threat of an internal aggression, and the party is further closing its ranks.

If we pursue a policy of national reconciliation, if we suggested that all the problems should be resolved not by means of war, but by means of negotiations and a dialogue, if we invite the opposition to take to the path of peace, we are doing it because we bear responsibility for the blood of the Afghan people never to be spilled again, Najibullah continued at the time when the limited Soviet military contingent is returning home, we already firmly stand on our feet and are capable of defending our motherland.

The opposition asserted that the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan. However, Soviet soldiers are returning home. In these conditions extremists should not forget that they are facing the Afghan people, and members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, its political allies, national and democratic forces are in their front ranks. It is those who enjoy Pakistan's support that are fighting against their own people. They want to stage a bloodbath in Kabul and other cities. By blocking big populated localities, they are trying to inflict death of starvation on their residents. However, the Afghan Government, its armed forces, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its political allies are capable of defending on their own the national sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and security of their people.

At present party members are fighting in the provinces of Nangarhar, Laghman, Paktia and Zabol. They will not retreat. There is no doubt that Kabul residents will defend the gains of the people shoulder to shoulder with party members. There is no way back, we shall move only forward. This is a final decision of the party headquarters, Najibullah said. We shall not make a single step aside from the way of national reconciliation. We are ready to start talks with representatives of the opposition on any level and anywhere. However, let it be known by the opposition that we shall not give up our principled stand and we shall defend our motherland. We shall not accept somebody else's diktat and political pressure. Our nation is with us. The future will belong to us.

Vorontsov, Iran's Velayati Discuss Afghanistan

LD0402195589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran 4 Feb (TASS)—Yu. M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, arrived in Tehran today at Iran's invitation. Matters relating to a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and to the aid that the two neighboring countries the USSR and Iran could render to the Afghan people in their transition to a peaceful life are to be discussed during the meeting with Iranian representatives. A conversation was held today in Tehran between Yu. M. Vorontsov and A.A. Velayati, Iranian foreign minister. They discussed issues relating to the further development of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Yu. M. Vorontsov informed the Iranian side that the Soviet Union, adhering stringently to her obligations under the Geneva Accords, will withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan within the timeframe laid down by these accords.

Prospects for the development of the situation in Afghanistan were discussed in detail in this context. The opinion was unanimous that there is a need for even more vigorous efforts to be made toward halting the bloodshed and finding ways to settle problems within Afghanistan peaceably, to create a government on a broad coalition basis, and to avoid any military escalation.

In particular the sides stressed the leading role and the responsibility of Afghanistan's neighbors for rendering aid to the Afghan people in the cause of a comprehensive peace settlement in the country.

The Soviet side noted that the clearly expressed political will of the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and of President Najibullah personally to hold extensive talks with the conflicting opposition groups on specific ways to form a broad based government is a good foundation for the immediate start of a peaceful pan-Afghan dialogue.

The sides advocated an intensification of Soviet-Iranian consultations on an Afghan settlement.

Afghan Coup Rumors 'Baseless'

LD0401114589 Tehran IRNA in English 1139 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Tehran, Feb 4, IRNA—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov arrived here Saturday heading a five-man delegation to discuss the Afghanistan issue with Iranian officials and Afghan resistance leaders.

He was welcomed at Tehran's Mehrabad airport by Mohammad Javad Larijani deputy foreign minister for Europe and America.

"Soviet forces are due to leave Afghan territory within four days and therefore it is necessary that its neighbours exchange views on the future of Afghanistan" Vorontsov told reporters.

Officially Moscow has given a commitment to withdraw their troops by February 15.

The Soviet official is due to hold talks with the eight-party coalition of Afghan mujahidin based in Iran as well as the leader of the Pakistan-based seven-party alliance Sebghatolah Mojaddadi who is currently in Tehran.

Early last month Vorontsov held talks with Afghan mujahidin factions in Tehran and Islamabad which ended without any tangible results on the future of Afghanistan which the Mujahideen insist must be without the current Marxist regime in Kabul.

Vorontsov denied rumors on the possibility of a military coup by Afghan Army hardliners after the Soviet withdrawal.

"There are numerous rumors about Afghanistan but there is no such possibility and it is thoroughly baseless," he said.

'Extremists' Shell Kabul, Kill 8 Civilians

LD0602083789 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul Feb 6 TASS—Yesterday detachments of irreconcilable opposition subjected to heavy shelling cities, villages and security outposts in various Afghan provinces. Extremists shelled with heavy weapons Sarowbi District in Kabul Province. As a result of the barbaric action, eight people, including two toddlers, were killed. Several houses were destroyed. One man was killed and two wounded as a result of the shelling of the cities of Gardeyz and Khowst in Paktia Province. Three civilians with serious wounds were hospitalized in the city of Shindand. Yesterday dozens of rockets and rocket-propelled grenades hit residential areas in the city of Herat and the Qandahar airport.

Afghan Government troops captured an enemy munitions depot in Daman district, Qandahar Province. The Kabul-Jalalabad and Kabul-Khairaton highways remain open for traffic as before. Columns with food and fuel are heading for the Afghan capital over the Salang road.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 207th note to the U.N. Good Offices Mission in Kabul. The document points out that, despite the provisions of the Geneva Accords, Pakistan continues shipping to Afghanistan large batches of weapons and ammunition for the irreconcilable opposition.

Afghan Rebels Attack Ghanzi, Kill Civilians

LD0301185589 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 3 Feb 89

[text] A Radio Moscow correspondent reports that extremists have mounted another fire attack on residential areas of Ghazni, a city southwest of Kabul, causing casualties among the civilian population. The rebels have been plundering and burning up convoys bringing food and fuel in an attempt to provoke famine and epidemics, especially in the country's capital, Kabul. Facts have come to light of the opposition's plans to set up terrorist groups inside Kabul.

Kabul 'Stable'; Internecine Rebel Fighting
PM0301184489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review prepared by Yevg. Bay: "Afghanistan: Dialogue, Not War"]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Kabul, Afghan President Najibullah expressed confidence that the country's present government and its army are capable of defending the people and rebuffing the extremist section of the opposition. "Kabul will be encircled on all sides by fortification installations," the president stated, "the extremists will have no chance of taking the city." At the same time the Afghan leader again pointed to Afghanistan's determination to continue the policy of national reconciliation and expressed the conviction that the prospects for peace depend largely on an all-embracing political solution based on equality of rights and interests of all forces.

According to reports from Kabul, a comparatively stable situation has prevailed here in recent days. The rebels are taking a wait-and-see position, although they are not giving up attempts to blockade provincial and district centers, in particular Gardeyz and Khowst.

There are now more than 70 representatives of the mass media in Kabul, mainly from Western countries, who have come to cover the final stage of the Soviet troops' withdrawal. In the last 24 hours they visited units of the special-purpose guard stationed in the Afghan capital.

A war is in progress in Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union wanted and still wants a speedy end to it, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration stated. We are making intensive political efforts to this end at every level, we are withdrawing the troops in strict compliance with the Geneva agreements, and we believe this creates the conditions for the setting up of dialogue between the opposing Afghan sides.

However, through the fault of the armed opposiion a dramatic situation has developed in Kabul and a number of other major cities in the republic. The Afghan capital's population of 2 million faces the threat of a starvation blockade, and thousands of trucks carrying wheat are being detained by rebel forces 150-180 km from the city.

It is not our fault, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, that to ensure the delivery of food and goods to Kabul we have to break the blockade and resort to armed force. We profoundly regret casualties among the civilian population in the region of fighting. However, it must be pointed out that the leadership of Afghanistan and our command have repeatedly proposed that civilians leave these regions, but the armed opposition obstructed their movement.

In the days remaining before the full withdrawal of the Soviet troops, armed opposition groupings are attempting to unite their actions in various regions of the country. But acute contradictions still persist in the opposition camp, often leading to fighting. Fighting between competing groups was observed in the provinces of Qandahar, Ghazni, and Zabol in the last 24 hours.

At the same time AFP reports from Peshawar that the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" have reached agreement on the formation of a provisional mujahidin government consisting of 28 people, which, according to their plan, would replace the present Kabul regime. Candidacies will be submitted for the approval of the "shura"—a consultative council which is planned to be held on 10 February. Some 520 people will take part in the "shura"—leaders of armed opposition detachments and refugees, religious figures, tribal leaders, and also, as the news agencies report, "20 orthodox Muslims living in Kabul, some of whom belong to the present government of Afghanistan."

Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who have just finished 3 days of talks in Islamabad, called for the formation of a representative government acceptable to all strata of Afghan society. In their view such a government is needed to ensure peace in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and also to lead the restoration of the economy. The sides also came out in favor of joint efforts by Pakistan and Iran to restore peace in Afghanistan.

The idea of holding a "shura" in order subsequently to form a provisional government could be acceptable in itself, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said in Moscow. But if this body is set up without taking the PDPA into account and not on the basis of cooperation among all forces, it will not have any influence on a political settlement in Afghanistan.

In Islamabad, TASS reports, the Pakistani Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization Executive Committee has issued a statement, which was adopted at a session in Lahore under the chairmanship of the committee's chairman Meradzha Khalida [as transliterated], who was recently elected speaker of the country's National Assembly (the lower chamber of parliament).

Noting with satisfaction the positive developments taking place in the international arena recently, the Pakistani Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization warmly welcomed the efforts of the United Nations, the Soviet Union, and Afghanistan to achieve peace and tranquility on Afghan soil.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary on Resignation of RSA's Botha

MB0302201789 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Commentary by Mikhail Tsirolov]

[Text] It has been reported from Cape Town that the NP [National Party] information spokesman, Tom Botha [name as heard], has announced the resignation of President Pieter Botha as the party leader. Here is a commentary by Mikhail Tsirolov:

On the 18th of last month, Pieter Botha had a mild stroke. Though he made a quick recovery, matters of health are more [word indistinct] at his age of 73, particularly in view of the tensed, snapping point, internal situation, and the burden of external problems. Recently, President Pieter Botha and his party were sharply criticized both from the left and from the right. I am not speaking of the banned organizations strongly opposed to apartheid, such as the African National Congress or the United Democratic Front. Their position is clear and requires no comment.

But within the white community, debates are heated, and a split is evident. The policy of the NP has been attacked by its old adversary, Zacharias de Beer, the leader of the Progress Federal Party, who accused the ruling party of corruption and internal strife. The accusations have some grounds, for in the past few days three NP MPs had to resign over charges of bribery and fraud.

Still, that's minor matters compared to the left-wing opposition's accusations of inconsistency and indecision in carrying out political reforms. The orthodox right wing, the Conservative Party, and the ultra-rightist groupings (?created), are blasting the NP on their part for betraying the principles of the classical apartheid.

All those problems are likely to give no peace to the new leader of the NP, Frederick de Klerk, the 62-year-old minister of national education, and the leader of the Transvaal branch of the party. He belongs to the right wing of the party, and is sharply criticized by the moderates for his education policy, particularly for the ban on demonstrations at university campuses. Frederick de Klerk has won his party's leadership in a bitter struggle with the finance minister, Barend du Plessis, leading him by only eight votes.

There are tentative speculations in South Africa that de Klerk is likely to become the country's next president. Most observers expect in such a case a swing to the right, harder oppressions against the opposition, and phasing out of political reforms begun under President Botha. These apprehensions were openly voiced by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, at a press conference in Britain.

So far, Pieter Botha has kept his presidency, which will be contested, apart from de Klerk, by such prominent politicians as Magnus Malan, Roelof Botha, and Barend du Plessis. Each of them has some chances. The main fight is still ahead.

Lukyanov Receives Somali Officials

LD0302183289 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, today received a special representative of the Somali president who handed over a letter to Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev from President Mohamed Siad Barre.

The Soviet Official and Somali Deputy Prime Minister Ahmed Mahmud Farah had a conversation in which the Somali representative described the domestic political and economic situation in his country and the results of the recent plenary meeting of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party Central Committee.

He stated Somalia's commitment to the Somali-Ethiopian agreements.

Speaking on behalf of the Somali leadership, Farah expressed support for the USSR's latest peace initiatives and stressed the immense significance of the policy of perestroika, or restructuring, and the change taking place in the Soviet Union for the creation of a climate of trust and the elimination of tension worldwide.

Lukyanov set out the Soviet Union's approach to topical issues of the international situation in the light of Gorbachev's United Nations address.

He pointed out that the USSR was interested in peace and stability in all regions, including the Horn of Africa, and expressed hope that Somalia's domestic problems would be settled by political means in the interests of its people.

The Soviet Union attached great importance to establishing relations of trust and good-neighbourhood among the countries in the Horn of Africa on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

"We welcomed the conclusion of the Somali-Ethiopian agreement in April 1988 on normalising bilateral relations as a positive factor meeting these objectives," Lukyanov said.

The discussion of issues of Soviet-Somali ties reaffirmed the two sides' aspirations to facilitate their stable development in the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

East Europe

IZVESTIYA on CSSR Defense Reductions

PM0602103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Czechoslovakia: News Conference in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—The recently published decision by the CSSR Defense Council on a unilateral reduction in personnel and armaments and on organizational changes in our army represents the initial steps in implementing the Czechoslovak initiative on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations, Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff, declared at a news conference in Prague.

He recalled that, over the next 2 years, defense expenditure in the CSSR will be reduced by 15 percent, the number of soldiers and officers will be reduced by 12,000 men, the number of tanks by 850, the number of armored personnel carriers by 165, and the number of aircraft by 51. The arms and equipment of three combined arms divisions will be mothballed at storage depots.

Replying to journalists' questions, the colonel general said that the Czechoslovak statement had generated an extensive response abroad. "As was to be expected, friendly countries responded positively, while the responses of the rest differed. There are also mass media organs which are trying to raise doubts about everything."

One question concerned the specific nature of the cutback of Soviet troops on CSSR territory, as announced in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech 7 December 1988.

The chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff stated that a number of independent Soviet units—an airborne assault battalion, a sapper battalion, a motor transport battalion, and a chemical defense battalion—will be withdrawn from the CSSR this year. In addition to this, two divisions of the Central Group of Forces will be reorganized so as to acquire a clearly expressed defensive configuration.

The press conference also touched upon a broad range of other questions concerning the Warsaw Pact countries' peace initiatives.

Errors Seen in Handling of Prague Demonstrations

PM0502151589 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 4-10 Feb 89 (Signed to Press 2 Feb 89) p 8

[Untitled article by TASS correspondent A. Yakovlev; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] In recent weeks the events taking place in the capital of Czechoslovakia have been one of the central themes of Western radio broadcasts and press commentaries. So what exactly has been happening in Prague?

In the middle of January, the Czechoslovak capital was living in an atmosphere of tension caused by a whole series of provocations organized by certain groups in Vaclav Square, in the area of the historic center of the city on the Vltava. [passage omitted]

The authorities were forced to take—we will be frank—pretty decisive measures. Some people were injured and public security bodies arrested a number of people, including several "Charter-77" activists.

It goes without saying that icy jets from water cannon and tear gas could hardly be expected to please anyone. But it must be admitted that the government has every right to restore order and rule of law using the appropriate means within the limits of its constitutional powers. It is another matter, for example, that the CSSR prosecutor general waited until the fifth day of the disturbances before he announced on television that militia subunits were regarding chance passers-by and simple onlookers as "passive participants in banned demonstrations." One feels that if this had been announced in good time, the situation in the city could have been brought back to normal more quickly. The CSSR Foreign Ministry Press Department also remained silent, failing to inform foreign journalists about the events taking place in the city.

In any case, we can now say with full justification that, as the latest session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium pointed out, the provocative demonstrations are an integral part of the actions of internal and external subversive forces directed against the socialist state, its domestic and foreign policy, and the social restructuring developing in Czechoslovakia, which enjoys broad support among various strata of the country's population.

Poland's Jaruzelski Interviewed on Past Year

LD0602035589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, by correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov; Jaruzelski speaks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation throughout; Ulyanov shown interviewing Jaruzelski across table; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Ulyanov] Comrade Jaruzelski, a few weeks of 1989 have passed. If you have no objection, let us go

back into the past a little. From your point of view, how was last year for Poland, for the Polish people, and for you, personally?

[Jaruzelski] It is not so easy to assess a whole year in a few words. But I think that we can say that last year was very substantial in recent Polish history. It was a difficult year, but at the same time it brought many interesting decisions, ones important for our lives and for the life of the country. I believe that the significance of the year must be assessed first and foremost by what foundations it created for further development in the current year. At the same time, it is necessary to also see the complex problems that we have had to resolve and the failures in the economic sphere, where, unfortunately, difficulties arose in the implementation of certain provisions of the economic reform. This has given rise to inflationary processes and caused various tensions. However, despite all this, positive phenomena are predominating.

First and foremost, far more opportunities for the development of national harmony and for dialogue in the process of democratization have emerged. Critical activity has increased within the ranks of our party. Certain positive phenomena have also appeared in the economic sphere. In particular, we have managed to overfulfill the plan for industrial production. Foundations have been laid for new economic solutions that should in the future provide more and more effective concrete results. I would also like to note with great gratification that it was a very fruitful year for Polish-Soviet friendship, to which particular significance was imparted by the visit to Poland by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Finally, Poland's activeness has shown up substantially in the international arena as well. Overall, I believe that we emerged from last year with chances that 1989 will be better.

[Ulyanov] Nevertheless, what sort of year was it for you, personally?

[Jaruzelski] For me personally, it was primarily full of work. This can be shown if only by the fact that I did not manage to use any of my leave. I usually spend it in your beautiful country, on the shores of the Black Sea. Unfortunately, this time I was not able to take advantage of the invitation, but, thank heaven, I cannot so far complain about my health, and I think that I will be able to work energetically even without this rest.

[Ulyanov] To return now to today. Of the events that have taken place in Poland recently, the most noticeable place is indisputably occupied by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, the importance of that plenum is undoubtedly immense. However, one can and should note that it is also, as it were, the culmination of a definite process, and at the same time the opening of a new stage of further development. To use dialectical terminology, one can say that quantity has gone over to quality, that is, that having over the last several years implemented the line of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses, the line of socialist renewal, we have been going step by step along the path of development and consolidation of the new principles of the life of the party and of the socialist state.

Particularly significant in this respect were the sixth plenum, held at the end of 1987, and then the seventh and eighth plenums. They, as it were, created the conditions for the new, higher quality which brought us to the 10th plenum. It first and foremost showed the party as the motive force, as a party which in the changes taking place in Poland in all spheres of public life—economic, political, ideological, scientific, cultural—has, as it were, started, as we had determined, to speak in a louder and more noticeable voice. But here one must note a certain paradox of sorts which emerged in this respect in the recent past. The party was and remains the initiator and organizer of the changes we are implementing. But in society it has frequently been perceived as a conservative force. Such a perception was to some extent dictated both by objective conditions any by subjective factors. That, regrettably, is how a considerable proportion of society saw the party. The 10th plenum changed this concept of the party. That was very important for its authority, and for it to be able to carry out its fundamental functions effectively, and I think that in this regard the 10th plenum has and will have simply the significance of a turning point. Naturally, it has played and undoubtedly will play an immense role in the transformations taking place throughout the country, having an active influence on these transformations, imparting dynamism to them and expanding the front of national accord which is so imporant for these transformations.

[Ulyanov] Comrade First Secretary, among the issues discussed at the 10th plenum, one could call most important the forthcoming party reform. What are the fundamental features of this reform?

[Jaruzelski] You know, even at the beginning of 1982, analyzing the setback that our party had suffered, and analyzing the weaknesses that had emerged, we drew the appropriate conclusions and formed this idea, the slogan "The same party, but diferent," meaning the same Marxist-Leninist party, addressing its sources and its present-day ideas, but at the same time different in style and methods of its work and in the decisions adopted. One can say that we have managed to only partially implement this postulate, these intentions. Party restructuring is a difficult and complicated matter. There exist here the accretions of many years, certain experiences and habits that do not always match the requirements of the present day. The 10th plenum is all the more important for the fact that it made the Central Committee and the entire party aware that we could not continue acting the same way, that we had to radically change the way the party functioned. These changes are in progress and will continue to take place.

To put it briefly, firstly, we are implementing serious changes in the sphere of structure, moving the center of gravity of the work of the party apparatus and of party bodies to local, grassroots level. We believe that it is a primary duty of the party leadership to serve the party masses, and not vice versa. The most important link is the primary party organization, our party infantry, as I call it. Turning to face the party organizations, that is the essence of this plenum, as far as style of party is concerned. Very substantial changes have also taken place in the organizational structure within the Central Committee itself. More emphasis is being laid on the social factor involved in party work, while the party apparatus has to play its strictly specific role as one level in relation to the social factor. It is to this that we subordinate the organizational changes taking place in the party.

Finally, we have implemented and are implementing many cadre and personnel changes. As you know, the composition of the Politburo and of the party leadership was very substantially renewed at the 10th plenum, in the first part of it, but 50 percent, one can say. A certain reduction in the age of the party leadership has taken place. People with broad intellectual horizons, with a very bold and innovative view of the life of the party and the life of the country, have come into it. This has already recently been tangible. For that reason, I am convinced that the changes that began in party life at the 10th plenum will have a substantial influence on the consolidation of its ranks and on improving the style of its activities.

[Ulyanov] Comrade Jaruzelski, you have mentioned the documents adopted by the 10th plenum. One has the impression, however, that the greatest interest, perhaps, has been aroused by the documents concerning political and trade union pluralism. What about this? Is it, so to speak, a temporary phenomenon, a tactic of the party, or is it a strategic course?

[Jaruzelski] First and foremost, one has to say that pluralism as such—reflecting the variety and diversity of people's worldviews, approaches, and viewpoints—has always existed. Right from the beginning of the establishment of people's power in Poland we have had a number of parties. There is the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party—we have always had political pluralism. However, this has not, I would say, been comprehensive pluralism; it is an overly narrow pluralism, which is not always properly understood.

Opportunities for alliance and cooperation in partnership with other supports of socialism have far from always been valued as they should be. At the same time, the formula of the moral and political unity of people, with no grounding in practice, was for long years declared in Poland. There was no such unity, is not, and in all probability it is difficult to achieve, just as people's lives and views are very different. We consider it very harmful if the peculiarities and difference in people's worldviews and aproaches are kept underground, as it were. We have also had to deal, as you know, with an active and organized underground. But perhaps, just like a political and psychological underground, this phenomenon is, in general, destructive, for it does not allow real disagreements and contradictions to be brought to light so that they can be channeled in a positive via dialogue and concord. That is why we are now posing the questions like this: All opposition forces that stand on the platform of our constitution and recognize the socialist order and our alliance, as well as the leading role of the party, will have greater opportunities than heretofore to express their views, and will take their place in our political system.

As far as trade union pluralism is concerned, that is a special question. It must be examined separately. All in all, it is not a tactic, since tactics, as we know, are a short-term phenomenon, pragmatic to some extent. Naturally, we made this proposal in a specific situation, a tactical one, one could say. Meanwhile we were, as it happens, going for a strategic aim, the achievement of national accord in the realities that exist in Poland and in the realities we can foresee in Poland, so as in this way to create optimum conditions for the proper directing of the efforts of the entire people toward the good of our country.

[Ulyanov] You have spoken about trade union pluralism. There are those in Poland at the moment who connect the question of trade union pluralism with the rebirth of Solidarity, the former Solidarity trade union. However, we very well remember 1981, December, when you, speaking on radio and television, announced the decision of the State Council to establish martial law in the country. One reason for this was the unending strikes, the spontaneous strikes, which were being organized by Solidarity. In connection with this, will not trade union pluralism create fresh difficulties along the road toward achieving national accord about which you were just talking?

[Jaruzelski] There is a well-known saying: You cannot dip into the same river twice. Both the man who is plunging into this water changes, as does the water in the river which is no longer the same. The same can be applied in this case. As far as 12 December is concerned, which you recalled, it has etched deep into my memory. I will probably never be able to forget that day. It was an emergency decision, a dramatic one. We had to carry out an extraordinarily difficult task. But I would like to remind you that we said even then that we were not asking and would not ask who was coming from where, but would ask what he brought with him and where he wanted to go. It is from precisely this point of view that we always approach all our potential partners. Apart from this, I would like to remind you also that we did not introduce martial law to return to the old times and methods, but first and foremost to restrain a destructive wave of anarchy that was bearing down, threatening very grievous, catastrophic consequences. We also introduced

it to open the way to reforms. However strange it may seem we started introducing the economic reform almost in parallel with the declaration of marial law. The implementation began 1 January 1982. Thus, martial law was a step which in fact opened up the way for socialist renewal and made it possible to carry it out under calm and secure conditions. What ensues from this? By this we did not bar the path to a single process that proceeded constructively.

We have recently come to the conclusion that the possibility of reviving trade union pluralism has emerged. The fact of the matter is that the law on trade unions was adopted in October 1982—I stress, in October 1982, that is, under martial law. This law foresaw trade union pluralism. However, in a certain sense it was suspended until such time as the situation in the country had stabilized enough in order for this pluralism to be considered timely. The Sejm turned the adoption of a decision on this issue over to the State Council.

Having analyzed certain things recently taking place in the country, we have arrived at the conclusion that such a possibility exists. What is this statement? First and foremost, the opposition-minded part of Solidarity has itself begun to express its position quite differently from before, constructively declaring its readiness to act within the framework of our system, observing all its principles and rules. A serious split has taken place within Solidarity, one that did not exist in 1981 when it acted cohesively. A kind of split has taken place, as it happens, into this constructuve, moderate part, the extremist part. Naturally, we are dealing and can negotiate only with that part which puts forward positive proposals.

In addition, very much has changed in the world since that time. Let us recall 1981. The West, or certain significant, influential circles in the West, were in effect banking on the creation of an explosive situation in Poland. They were even fostering this to a certain extent. But today, the processes of relaxation of tension, developing thanks to powerful stimuli coming from the Soviet Union, and of the new thinking have led to the West, in principle, no longer urging the Polish opposition to such types of activity, if one could call it that, but attuning itself to a more peaceful development of events. Naturally, if I were to restrict my reply to just these statements, it might seem that I was too optimistic, with too naive an approach to this situation. By no means. We have bitter experience, and we remember it well. But one has to know that our partners also remember it, our entire people remembers it, and it would not like to experience again what it experienced in 1981. That is a very important factor which we take into account. Apart from this, whatever the case, our state has at its disposal all the necessary forces and means to prevent anything that could upset (?the calm). I believe that it will not take place and that is what I would like. For our part, this is not all thoughtlessness, decisions ignoring realities. We take note of the realities.

[Ulyanov] Well, let us perhaps look at the question from the other side. Under conditions of political pluralism and the expansion of democracy, and the bounds of the latter are as yet unknown, will the party not lose its leading role? How will it be able to retain its position as spokesman of the interests of the working people, of the working class, under conditions of this political pluralism?

[Jaruzelski] I will move away slightly from giving a direct answer to this question and will use such a definition, perhaps too free and simplified but which, probably, reflects the essential thing. If someone wants to guide everything, in the end he does not really guide anything, and we have come to understand this on many occasions from our own experience. Therefore, today the party is working out the kind of model of its guiding functions that will put fundamental levers at its disposal and prevent it from engaging in activities which, in practice, disperse its chief function and its role. It seems to me that we have reached a very important conclusion by more profoundly revealing the role of the party. Previously it was determined only as a guiding role. It should be stressed that the party retained the guiding role in the state even during the most difficult period, and had a decisive influence on governing and on the decisions made in the state system. We believe, however, that this is only one side of the matter. No less important, even more important, is the leading role of the party, a role that cannot be established by decree and that cannot be registered anywhere. It has to be built into people's minds and hearts. It should be based on belief and trust in the party, and on the belief that its program is the most correct.

In this area we have had major shortcomings and have suffered serious defeats. We must restore the leading role of the party, and it can be restored only if, on the one hand, those methods and the style of work I mentioned earlier are used, if the party once again establishes a close bond with the people and with the working class and, on the other hand, if this brings results in all spheres of life and if people feel that the party is embodied in their material and spiritual life. Finally, the third factor, which I regard as especially significant, is an understanding of the party's duty. I see it as a sense of service, a sense of responsibility toward the working class, the working people, and toward the people as a whole, for only this kind of party that has such a sense, can effectively fight for the leader's mandate and thus, effectively perform its guiding role. In short, this triad, these three functions are, in my view, inseparably linked. So, how, in concrete terms, could the party under the new conditions become in the eyes of the working people a force that represents their interests? It seems to me that at the moment all of us, the entire socialist community, are looking for how to ensure the greatest economic efficiency. After all, we know that things are not so good here. In this respect we lag behind capitalism, at least behind some of its most important and most developed states.

The most important question is how to coordinate the greatest efficiency with the preservation of socialist gains and with socialist social justice. It is the party that must work for the harmonious combination of these two factors, the party, as a reliable guarantor of the state system. Under capitalism, big capital, and the entire economic, political, and propaganda potential it has at its disposal, is the guarantor of the system. As for the guarantor of the socialist system, it is none other than the party, but a party that acts for nationwide interests, combining the struggle for increasingly high economic efficiency with the preservation and strengthening of socialist principles. I regard this as an important role of the party at the present stage.

[Ulyanov] When we describe the present stage of our countries' development, we usually use the terms: restructuring in the Soviet Union; socialist renewal in Poland. But, can the similarity of these processes, given the existing differences, act as a stimulus for the intensification of Polish-Soviet cooperation, and if so, how do you see it doing so?

[Jaruzelski] Undoubtedly it is a major stimulus for the intensification of our friendship and cooperation. I would say in two spheres: the emotional and the rational spheres—in the emotional sphere in as much as restructuring is expanding and multiplying the ranks of friends of the Soviet Union in Poland and, I believe, in the world in general, but in Poland especially, if one bears in mind certain historical circumstances that frequently impeded development of our relations and the strengthening of our friendship.

I would say that restructuring is leading to a turning point in this area. Polish and Soviet working people are becoming closer to one another and a favorable atmosphere for this is emerging, which is important. Secondly, the rational sphere. It lies in the fact that both restructuring and socialist renewal are putting in motion processes in the sphere of the economy, politics, science, and culture, which are leading to greater decentralization, to greater independence, and to the search for original solutions. This, as it were, unties the hands of many people, organizations, and production enterprises in the establishment of contacts. We already have a very rich experience of direct ties between enterprises. They are also developing quite successfully in the sphere of science, technology, and culture. I am personally counting strongly on the signing of a bilateral treaty on cooperation among the younger generation in the near future. I would say that this would be a great page in the friendship of our peoples, a capital investment in the 21st century. Thus, one can say that restructuring and socialist renewal have opened up a new stage in our relations, and we must make every effort to fully use it.

[Ulyanov] Now, we will, if we may, also return for a moment to the past. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Poland in the summer of last year was seen both in your country and here at home as an important event in the development of the ties between our parties and states. But how do you evaluate the significance of this visit from the perspective of 6 months later, that is, from today?

[Jaruzelski] You see, there are events whose significance fades and reduces, as it were, with time. There are those that time emphasizes and singles out even more. Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to Poland comes under the latter. The greater the distance from which we look upon it, the more apparent is the great capital this visit created. By the way, TRYBUNA LUDU newspaper published a very interesting article representing the Polish public's opinion of Comrade Gorbachev. I recommend that you read it and would be glad if the Soviet reader could become acquainted with it. Thus, this article contains the results of very substantial scientific research showing what great respect and popularity Mikhail Sergeyevich enjoys in our country, and the degree to which this was promoted by his visit to Poland. It goes without saying that the attitude toward Comrade Gorbachev has a very positive influence on the attitude to restructuring, to your party and to the Soviet people. This is a big matter, very important for us, as well as for our internal policy.

You see, previous to this one could trace a rule like this: When difficult problems, some sort of conflicts—and unfortunately our postwar history is abundant in sad and even painful events of this kind—would arise here in Poland, then anti-Sovietism would always appear at the sharp edge of a struggle against socialism. Recently, last year, we went through various difficult situations. There is also the opposition, which attacks us one way and another. But anti-Sovietism has receded way into the background. Naturally, I do not intend to embellish this matter; after all, there are undoubtedly also people and certain circles who as before do not have friendly feelings for the Soviet Union. But there are fewer and fewer of them; the main thing is that today there is no market for it, no atmosphere favorable to anti-Sovietism. It is thanks to restructuring and to the personality of Mikhail Sergeyevich, and to his visit, which was such an important event.

[Ulyanov] Thank you. If we could now try to get back to international issues; the events now taking place in the world give us grounds to draw a conclusion about the possibility of moving on along the road of building a common European home. How do you, Comrade Jaruzelski, evaluate the state of this construction project and its prospects?

[Jaruzelski] I think that we are at a very important stage of construction of this common European home, and I evaluate its prospects, in general, with moderate optimism. Why? Because I consider that two main factors have ripened for this, two fundamental elements: the objective and the subjective. The objective factor consists of the fact that there exists a danger conditioned by the military potential of both the one side and the other, the use of which could destroy our planet. But all kinds

of other factors—ones of civilization, so to speak, ecological, energy, raw materials, demographic—which bring mankind and, naturally, Europe, this most densely populated continent, with problems in a quite different light from several decades ago, have worsened. Secondly, the subjective preconditions have emerged, among which one should class first and foremost the new thinking, the (?immense) dynamism, and the numerous initiatives coming from the Soviet leadership. In a word, an historic combination in time, as it were, of objective and subjective factors has occurred, which has imparted pace and stimulus to these processes. For that reason I think they must develop further, although one also needs to consider the fact that there will be various hindrances and forces that indisputably have no interest in such a process. But I think that they will lag more and more behind life's demands.

[Ulyanov] Overall, you remain an optimist in this matter?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, I am an optimist, or rather, a cautious optimist. I say an optimist, because such a process is already taking place, and cautious because, as I have already said, there exist forces that try to restrain it. I think, though, that they are weaker, and will become still weaker.

[Ulyanov] How do you see the role and place of the Polish People's Republic in the construction of a nuclear- and violence-free world in Europe?

[Jaruzelski] I would not want this to sound like a boast: Poland is a major country on a European scale, with a population of about 40 million. From the geographic standpoint it is situated in the center of Europe, with its potential and traditions, and with immense experience in foreign policy. For that reason I believe our activities in this sphere have definite significance, including our plan for the reduction of weapons and the enhancement of confidence in central Europe, which has met with great interest throughout the world and with the support of our allies. I know this, I am very glad, and grateful at the way our real contribution is evaluated.

Now, again in connection with the fresh steps being undertaken in the international arena in the field of disarmament: The statement made by Comrade Gorbachev in the UN and the decisions of the countries of our community concerning the reconstruction of the armed forces aimed at giving them a clear defensive character, and the reduction of those elements of our forces and facilities that might be eliminated without detriment to security—in all these issues we are in step with the Soviet Union. Here I would particularly like to stress that we will always be a reliable ally of the Soviet Union. We will be a powerful link in our socialist community and in the Warsaw Pact, and nothing will deflect us from this path.

[Ulyanov] Our last question, or perhaps request, Comrade Jaruzelski: What would you like to wish our television viewers, the Soviet people, today?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, I am very glad that I have had the opportunity to address our Soviet friends on television, and to stress quite emphatically everything that has linked us in the past and links us in the building of a new life, on the road of restructuring and of socialist renewal. This path is not an easy one. I consider that it is better when the way is difficult at the beginning, because then it is easier to keep going later. We, having such an ally as the Soviet Union, and situated in the same channel of transformations as it, although they are being implemented in different specific conditions in our countries, believe that this is the right path, and that we will overcome the difficulties facing us.

We need great patience while waiting for the results, and at the same time, impatience in overcoming everything that holds back our development and progress. I wish our Soviet friends—and I have a great many personal friends and acquaintances, especially among the older generation, but among young people too—success in fulfilling the great tasks that are currently being implemented in your country. In the New Year, which has, true, already begun, but started quite recently, I wish them personal happiness, good health, and all the very best, everything one could wish one's best friends.

[Ulyanov] Thank you very much.

PRAVDA Previews Polish 'Roundtable'

PM0502195289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 89 First Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report: "Quest for Consensus: The Long-Awaited 'Roundtable' Session Begins in Warsaw Today"]

[Text] The table, 15 meters in diameter, skillfully made at the artistic furniture factory in Henrykow, was once before installed in a castle in the city suburbs, but the 56 places around its oval shape were not occupied on that occasion. The path to the "round table," or more precisely to the national consensus that must be achieved by various political and social forces (from representatives of the official authorities, the three-party coalition, and the trade unions to religious and opposition organizations, including first and foremost representatives of the illegal trade union "Solidarity"), proved contradictory, difficult, and long.

The meeting did not take place last year partly because of a large number of preliminary conditions set by the oppositionists, calling for a "nonsocialist Poland." You can hardly expect consensus if you start from diametrically opposite positions. At the same time the idea for the meeting itself presupposed only one condition, which is necessary for such a crucial dialogue—the constructive evaluation of reality at the present stage of the development of the people's Poland, the unification of forces, and the formulation of effective measures aimed at improving the economic and social spheres of society—a socialist society, naturally.

You will remember that "Solidarity" categorically opposed the decision by the country's new government to close the unprofitable shipyard in Gdansk—now there can be no question of any "round table," its leaders declared. But time heals even the quick-tempered, and common sense always prevails if people are really committed to consensus as an additional and powerful guarantee of the strengthening of their own homeland.

The opposition is used to blaming the PZPR for everything. The crisis, inflation, foreign debt, the shortage of goods and food—"the party and government are to blame for everything." But the strange thing is that when the new cabinet was formed in the fall, its chairman M. Rakowski offered the "dissatisfied" four seats in the cabinet. All four possible candidates refused to accept them. It is easy to criticize, but much more difficult to achieve success in an incredibly complex situation.

All the same the PZPR Central Committee, after assessing the situation self-critically and consulting repeatedly with the leadership of the allied parties, trade union leaders, leaders of social and national currents and organizations, and local party members, came to the conclusion that extensive methods of managing the country have outlived their usefulness and that the best model of political, state leadership lies in the unification of heterogeneous but constructive forces, a decisive turn away from confrontation between them, and, on the contrary, the establishment of the principles of pluralism.

The crucial, reforming role was played in this respect by the recent 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which lasted an unprecedented time—nearly a month, with a long break for discussions in the party organizations. The plenum adopted important documents on political and trade union pluralism. Characterizing the current political moment, J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said in an interview for the weekly POLITYKA: "The party is advancing from the stage of formulating ways to reconcile the positions defining the Polish model of democratic, humanist socialism to the stage of comprehensive realization of that model. In the past, unfortunately, opportunities to change the confrontational course of events were not used. We believe that today the opportunities for national consensus are realistic in principle."

In short, the plenum acknowledged that the very diverse forces, societies, groups, and clubs that exist and operate in the name of the people's Poland have the right to participate in policymaking, in the resolution of all questions of state importance, and in the development of the trade union movement. It should be observed that this was not an easy admission to make, and was the result of prolonged and heated debates. As with any strictly objective bilateral step, we should not look for the injured or somehow losing side here. Incidentally, some PZPR members expressed their disagreement with the legalization of "Solidarity," just as many members of that organization censured their leadership for agreeing to dialogue and possible future cooperation with the authorities. An internal opposition has taken shape within "Solidarity." But L. Walesa has repeated often at press conferences and meetings with journalists: "Consensus is our destiny, we need compromise... Poland will gain by it."

The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum made the holding of the "round table" possible. This discussion will bear no resemblance to a friendly chat. And they are allowing 6 weeks for it, as a rough guide! Poland pins great hopes on the dialogue that has begun. A conference of PZPR delegates lies ahead. In summer, there are elections to the Sejm. The extent to which pluralism triumphs as a result of possible accords at the "round table" will determine how much the composition of parliamentary deputies could change and the extent of the participation in state affairs of those who formerly allotted to themselves the role of bystanders and scathing critics.

TASS Notes Polish 'Interaction' Commission Meets

LD0302205189 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 3 TASS—The amelioration of the political climate helps the authoritative socio- political forces to harmonize their positions, which facilitates the process of building national concord. This idea ran through speeches at a meeting of the Central Commission on Interaction of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, and also the movements of Catholic and lay christians—the society of Lay Catholics, the Christian-Social Union, and the Polish Public Catholic Union.

The leaders of the three allied parties - Wojciech Jaruzelski, Roman Malinowski, and Tadeusz Mlynczak, and also Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the Polish Council of the Patriotic national Revival Movement, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Minsters of the Polish People's Republic, and the leaders of the Catholics and lay christians' movements attended the meeting.

They expressed satisfaction with progress in preparations for round-table talks. It was stated that during the talks the parties of the ruling coalition and the organizations of Catholics and lay christians, who interact with them, will present besides common views on the future of Poland also their own proposals concerning drastic political and socio- economic reforms. Those attending the meeting stressed that a partner dialogue at the round-table was necessary for attaining progress in all areas of life expected by the Polish society.

Participants in the meeting of the Central Commission on Interaction voiced confidence that the upcoming elections to the Polish Sejm, which would be held in keeping with the new provision on elections, were meant to help expand political representation in the Polish Parliament.

Polish TU Alliance Prepares for Conference

LD0302173389 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 3 TASS—The Executive Committee of the All Poland Trade Unions Alliance heard at its conference a report about the preparation for a round-table conference of representatives of various social circles and confirmed the intention of the All Poland Trade Unions Alliance to participate in these negotiations and in all the working groups created in their framework.

The Executive Committee endorsed the candidatures of representatives of All Poland Trade Unions Alliance and vested them with appropriate powers.

Chairman of the All Poland Trade Unions Alliance Alfred Miodowicz said upon the conclusion of the meeting that in the framework of the round table conference class-oriented trade unions will assume most open position, without refusing the program principles of the revived trade union movement.

Regional meetings held in the recent days in which representatives of some 2,000 trade union organisations of enterprises participated confirmed on the whole the trade union movement's support for the stand of the Alliance. This stand can be summed up as the recognition of the need to exert efforts to preserve the living standards of workers of the nationalised sector and the readiness to discuss all concepts that would promote unity of work collectives and oppose split and escalation of demands, destructive to enterprises.

Dwelling on trade union pluralism, he expressed the opinion that it is for work collectives to decide what kind of a trade union or trade unions they need. In this case the trade unions should agree and assume a single stand on problems of vital importance for the working people.

Poland's Rakowski on Developments

LD0502120889 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw February 5 TASS—Documents of the 10th plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Central committee—a statement and position on political and trade union pluralism—mark an entirely new stage in Poland's political development, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Speaking on national television Saturday, Rakowski emphasised that the documents were designed to abandon many obsolete evaluations and structures. He said without exaggeration that a new and rather interesting period was beginning in Poland, which, however, would not be void of dangerous trends which are currently being discussed at meetings and in the press.

The government intends to undertake steps to reorganize different structures, for which it is responsible, to bring them in line with the guidelines of Poland's social and political development adopted at the PUWP plenum. A package of laws on the state's economic activity for the next few years recently approved by the Polish Sejm would also contribute to this process. These laws are based on the ideas and the concept of economic reform and will create fundamentally new production relations in Poland.

Rakowski said that the government was going to raise wages for teachers and medical workers in according with the new laws very soon. Representatives of these two professions responsible for the health of the nation and its intellectual development have been considerably underpaid compared with workers in the production sphere.

The "round table" discussions opening on February 6 will also be an important political event for Poland, Rakowski said.

Oil Exports to Poland Discussed

LD0202234689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian carries as part of its "World Today" program presented by Valentin Dvinin at 1545 GMT on 2 February a 5-minute video report from Warsaw by correspondent Yuriy Ulayanov. Ulyanov begins his report on the signing of trade contracts between the Soviet Union and Poland recently with a rhetorical question of whether such economic cooperation is really mutually beneficial. He says that the volume of USSR-Poland trade is 13 billion rubles per annum: Poland exports 7 billion rubles worth of goods, and the USSR's exports amount to 6 billion rubles. This year a contract is being signed for the sale to Poland of 12.75 million tonnes of oil by the USSR.

Ulyanov then interviews Krzysztof Staniszewski, director of the Polish Export Association, who says he is satisfied with the contract, even though Soviet oil is more expensive than the world level, because the arrangement has long-term advantages.

Ulyanov then interviews Yu. N. Kharlamov, deputy chairman to the Soyuznefteeksport Association, which handles oil exports. The following recorded exchange takes place:

[Ulyanov] Don't you think it is a pity to sign a contract for 12 million tonnes of a raw material that we ourselves do not have enough of?

[Kharlamov] Firstly, I shall dwell on the second part of your question. I think it is not quite true, because for the moment there is enough oil; there is enough for the moment. In the main, oil production in our country provides for requirements at home. There are alternative

sources. We get a good deal of help from gas. Therefore, I do not think any harm is done to the state because we supply the Polish side with a considerable quantity of oil.

And as far as this delivery is concerned, firstly, trade relations in our country are becoming regulated and balanced. I think and am convinced that the oil we supply to the Polish People's Republic is completely paid for by return deliveries. Therefore I am profoundly convinced that that is mutually beneficial trade, a mutually advantageous deal. And the conditions are completely satisfactory for us both, as regards the price and the conditions of the contract themselves.

IZVESTIYA Views LCY Plenum Debate

PM0301174689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kolosov report: "Toward Unity Through Reform: 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum Adopts Important Decisions"]

[Text] Belgrade—The other day the Belgrade newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI, which, incidentally, has the biggest circulation in the country, carried two banner headlines on the front page. "Responsibility for the Country's Future," said one, informing readers of the start of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum. "Sidewalks Like Glass," warned the other, reporting the treacherous glare ice that has suddenly covered the capital's streets. I am not a lover of trenchant combinations of words, but in this instance the two headlines that appeared together by chance highlighted the delicacy and danger of the present time in Yugoslavia.

The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which lasted 3 days, was indeed rather like walking on icy sidewalks. Not all the speakers managed to avoid falling over and hurting themselves. What was discussed was the future of the present LCY Central Committee Presidium, the future of the party, and whether or not the Federation should exist as such. I am not exaggerating. All this was spoken of from the plenum platform. There were many speakers. And even more opinions and proposals. Radio and television were broadcasting continuously, both live and in recorded form. Millions of Yugoslavs heard and saw everything that was happening in the auditorium where the Central Committee members were in session. Too harsh a time has come to the Yugoslav land. Suffice it to say that on the last day of the plenum's work, at a plainly inappropriate time, a significant new increase in the prices of electricity, coal, and railroad shipments was announced. Bread prices also went up again. The flywheel of inflation is operating at a crazy pace, causing increasing dissatisfaction among the broad masses of working people.

Like many journalists accredited to Yugoslavia, during these days I never left the television screen from early morning until late at night and never let out of my hands the notebook in which I noted down the main thoughts and ideas voiced in the speeches of LCY Central Committee members. But it would be a task beyond my powers not only to analyze everything that was said, but even to list the speakers' names. Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who delivered the main report, mounted the platform repeatedly to give explanations, amendments, and proposals. Remember that the recent extraordinary Vojvodina party conference proposed that S. Suvar be relieved of his post in connection with the deepening political crisis in the country, the exacerbation of the "Kosovo problem," and his disrespectful attitude to the people's forum in Titograd, which the Presidium president called "the street." S. Suvar said in his report that he never used that word about the people, and he rejected the attacks on him. He stated that the way out of the very grave political crisis in which the country and party find themselves lies not through stepping up the confrontation within the ranks of the party leadership, but in cohesion and unity on the path of reforms. That is the only way to win the present battle for socialism and for socialist self-management.

The "Yugoslav model of socialism," born more than 3 decades ago, is still only an experiment. And, you could say, not an entirely successful one. Well, that is not a new way of putting it. And it was said in many speeches at this plenum. But words are one thing and deeds are another. And the deeds, let us emphasize, are such that not one of the tasks set at the 13th LCY Congress has been resolved. And the congress was in 1986. The economic reform is still only on paper, the reform of the political system is at a standstill, and the reform of the LCY itself is basically drowning in verbiage. The nature of this last reform is that the LCY should not only be the leading force in transformations, but should transform itself, that is, stop the trend toward federalization of the party and strengthen the democratic centralism that it so badly needs today...

It is in this context that the convening of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum should be seen. The party's strength lies in unity. That is why there have been and will be major cadre changes in the party leadership, and that is why warnings of a possible split within the LCY and the disintegration of the Federation rang out from the platform more frankly than ever before. Slogans no longer convince anyone. Concrete action is needed. Urgently. The time has come when Yugoslavia's Communists are left with just one chance to overcome every ill, speakers at the 20th plenum said. "Unity lies through reform." The newspaper BORBA used these words as the banner headline on its front page. That is the slogan, or rather the demand of the day.

The plenum confirmed the resignation of LCY Central Committee Presidium members Vidoje Zarkovic and Marko Orlandic, removing them from the Central Committee too. Within the framework of cadre changes in the party leadership, 15 people were removed from the Central Committee. In connection with the separation of

party and state functions, 10 prominent personalities were also removed from the LCY Central Committee. They include Branko Mikulic, Lazar Mojsov, Sinan Hasani, and others.

The next 21st LCY Central Committee Plenum will be on 16 or 17 February this year. The plenum resolved to make a decision within 3 months on convening the 14th LCY Congress, so that it can take place before the end of this year.

Yugoslav Political Corruption Described
PM0302115589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent L. Kolosov: "Hard Times in Yugoslavia Brought About by Distortions of the Political System and the Economy"]

[Text] Belgrade—You cannot deny that Yugoslav moviemakers have the ability to react instantly to the critical events taking place in the country. No sooner had the campaign of profound cadre changes begun in the LCY than local television showed an episode from a new movie, indeed I do not know what the title is yet. On Prince Michael Street, where the windows of the capital's most fashionable and expensive stores sparkle, the chic Mercedes of a party functionary slides to a halt. The courteous chauffeur, his body bent in the shape of a question mark, removes his cap, and opens the door of the limousine, whence emerge the bigwig's wife, dressed in foreign furs, and her daughter, dripping with jewelry and looking like a Christmas tree. As far as one can tell, it is a routine raid on the ultrafashionable retail stores. On returning they see their "personal" chauffeur, hands on the wheel, gazing with disgust at his "mistresses" through the window of the Mercedes, which is open a crack. "What are you laughing at?" the angry bigwig's wife hollers. "Why don't you open the door?!" "Because," the driver replies, "your 'servant of the people' has been removed from his post and sent to..."

The episode is symbolic. If not an epidemic, then, at any rate, an enormous wave has swept through the ranks of leading LCY figures, casting some of them out of the party ranks because of their inactivity, abuses, parochialism, nationalism, and loss of contact with the masses of the people. Cadre changes in the party's leading bodies, as demanded by the people, have now taken place or are taking place in practically every republic and autonomous region in the Federation. Collective resignations by party and state leaders and individual top-level functionaries, expulsions from the LCY, criminal proceedings against former party leaders...

I have in front of me the front page of the newspaper POLITIKA. There is a report on the closing of the extraordinary party conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. A resolution was adopted unanimously. It proposes the convening of an extraordinary LCY congress; the release of Stipe Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, from his post; and the removal from the LCY Central Committee of Petar Matic, Nandor Major, Vukasin Loncar, and other Central Committee members representing the League of Communists of Vojvodina. Well, this is a rather serious event when you consider that, according to the LCY Statutes, an extraordinary party congress must be immediately convened at the request of the League of Communists of any of the republics or a party conference of any of the autonomous provinces. This story makes one thing clear—you cannot trifle with the people nowadays.

The Yugoslav people are not trifling either. They are sick of the "smoldering coals" in Kosovo Autonomous Province. How much longer can they put up with the provocations of Albanian nationalists forcing Serbian and Montenegrin families to leave the soil and the graves of their ancestors? How much longer can people go on being tantalized with lavish window displays and full shelves when the Moloch of inflation is all but weekly gobbling up one half the average Yugoslav's wage? Judge for yourselves. So far in January alone, the paper POLITIKA writes, the price of dairy products has risen by 195 percent, bread and bread products by 233 percent, consumer goods by 201 percent, and cosmetics by 100 percent... In the case of certain groups of goods, particularly those for which there is a heavy demand, the increase has been around 700 percent! Can you imagine it? Prices increasing sevenfold in 3 weeks!

And it is against this background that more and more instances of corruption, bribery, and theft among top- and middle-ranking party functionaries are coming to light. What about the "Neum affair," which is still causing a stir among the public! In a pleasant bay on the Adriatic coast, near the city of Neum, some party and state functionaries occupying high posts in Bosnia and Hercegovina, including the League of Communists Central Committee, used state money to build their own villas. And some villas! The members of this kind of "villa cooperative" included Milanko Renovica, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Former chairman, of course. He and the rest had their villas taken away from them and were compelled to return all the "credits," taking into account inflation. Fifty or so functionaries lost all their party posts. The investigation continues.

If only it was an isolated instance! Alas... That is why ordinary Yugoslav communists have demanded checks on the incomes of party functionaries, up to and including LCY Central Committee Presidium members, the publication of their earnings, and the elimination of all privileges. Because, as communists are saying and writing, cunning and unscrupulous people are angling for leading party posts not by any means because they want to be involved with the needs of the people. They need to have their hands on the levers controlling the placement of cadres and material and financial resources, in short,

to be "in power," to be able to get rich themselves with impunity and "feed" their loyal friends. The Yugoslav people calls these careerists without conscience "party parasites."

When the head of a trade firm or bank becomes a thief there is generally not much of an outcry. But when the LCY Central Committee Presidium chairman gets involved in jiggery-pokery it is, you will agree, shocking. "Sramota," (with the stress on the second syllable) the Yugoslavs say. I do not think I need translate this word. Move the stress and all becomes clear [Russian equivalent is "sram"]: shame, disgrace, ignominy... Yet these party deviants were expecting to get away scotfree. Why? Because they believed in the cult of power. And it is created by the individual or, if you like, individuals...

The working class and people of the Federation have realized that the "Yugoslav model of socialism" is also stuck in a rut because the party and state bureaucracy, particularly at republic and province level, is clinging to past privileges and is hindering the reform process in the economic sphere, in the political system and in the LCY itself. The masses of the people realize that all these transformations are impossible without fundamental changes in party leadership, without abolishing all party functionaries' privileges, with one exception—that is considering the welfare of the people and not personal prosperity.

...In these hard times the Yugoslav papers are concentrating on domestic political and economic problems. VJESNIK reported that the election of the new Yugoslav government will most likely take place on 3-7 March this year. BORBA reported an LCY Central Committee Presidium session which examined questions connected with preparations for the LCY Central Committee 20th plenum, postponed until 30 January. The plenum will discuss questions connected with the current political situation in the country, the state of relations in the LCY, and the activity and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and LCY Central Committee Presidium. It was noted that in accordance with the party statutes and on the basis of a number of retirements and resignations "a certain number of Central Committee members" could be released at the plenum. At the same time, the possibility of the election of new LCY Central Committee members for Macedonia, Vojvodina, and Bosnia-Hercegovina is not ruled out.

The weekly KOMUNIST published a commentary which noted, in particular: "The time has come for the LCY to review its work methods and forms. Looking ahead to the congress, the LCY must first of all establish for its own benefit whom it will be taking to the party forum and to whom it will be saying goodbye for good, even to the extent of surrendering party cards. The fact that there is no government in Yugoslavia at the moment, that there are no leaders either in two autonomous provinces and two republics, that the SFRY Presidium and LCY Central Committee Presidium are not operating with their full complements is indicative not only of the real danger threatening the state.

"The battle is for progress, for Yugoslavia can be won by changing production relations in which the working class must dominate and play a political and economic role. The people's anger is justified by the fact that life is daily becoming worse for working people. The bureaucracy has fallen virtually silent, without offering any resistance.

"The extraordinary LCY congress cannot and must not be an opportunity for the renewal of the 'conservative faction' in the LCY," the weekly stresses. "Yugoslavia cannot get out of the crisis situation the Vojvodina way, the Kosovo way, or the Montenegro way. It can only overcome the crisis on a common Yugoslav platform."

Talyzin Attends Commission Session in Hungary

Met by Medgyessy

LD0102185789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, 1 Feb (TASS)—N. V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today arrived in Budapest to take part in the 38th session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

He was met at the airport by P. Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, and other officials. Among those meeting him was B. I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary.

Joint Session Opens

LD0102230489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1248 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, 1 Feb (TASS)—A session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commision for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation opened here on Wednesday [1 February]. The delegations are headed by N.V.Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and P.Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Visits Soviet-Hungarian Enterprise

LD0202231389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Talyzin, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, visited the joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprise Mikromed in the city of Esztergom

today. Comrade Talyzin acquainted himself with Mikromed's output, which is produced using microprocessor equipment. The collective of the enterprise handed over an electrocardiograph as a gift to the victims of the earthquake in Tajikistan. Comrade Talyzin also visited the Budapest industrial cooperative (Radelkisz). A conversation on the prospects for development of the cooperative movement in Hungary and on new forms of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation took place at a meeting with the enterprise managers.

Protocols Signed

LD0302224989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has ended in Budapest.

Today comrade Talyzin, heading the Soviet delegation, met with Hungarian leaders. During the meeting with Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, topical matters relating to economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary were touched upon. The need to work out, in present-day conditions, a more flexible economic mechanism of cooperation, was stressed. [video shows Talyzin meeting with Nemeth and others]

This the afternoon a meeting took place between Comrade Talyzin and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP. During the conversation an exchange of views was held on the key directions in the implementation of the socio-economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union and Hungary. The meeting passed off in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality. [video shows Talyzin meeting with Grosz]

At the Hungarian parliament today a trade protocol was signed between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic for 1989. The Soviet Union remains Hungary's leading trade partner, and Hungary in turn is one of the Soviet Union's main trade partners. The protocol makes provision for the development of direct production links between the appropriate Soviet and Hungarian organizations.

The protocol was signed on the authorization of the governments of both countries by Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of Foreign Economic Relations, and Ambrus, Hungarian deputy minister of trade. The protocol for the 38th session of the Soviet-Hungarian intergovernmental commission was signed. The document was signed by Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. [video shows signing ceremony]

Departs Hungary 4 Feb

LD0402092789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0912 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, 4 (TASS)—Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers who has been taking part in the 38th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Hungarian Commission on Economic and Scientific- Technical Cooperation, left Budapest today.

He was seen off at the airport by P. Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of ministers, and other officials. Among those seeing him off was B.I. Stukalin the USSR's ambassador to Hungary.

Medvedev Meets Talyzin on Return

LD0402213589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Good evening comrades. I would like to start this today's summary of international events with a report from Budapest. The session of the Soviet-Hungarian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation has ended here. The document adopted envisions, the supply to Hungary of various kinds of equipment, raw materials, and oil and our country will receive vehicles, consumer goods and many other things from Hungary. Comrade Talyzin took part in the work of the 38th session of the commission and today he returned from Budapest to Moscow. At the airport he was met by Comrade Medvedev, Comrade (?Vlasov) and other officials.

Border Agreement Reached With Hungary

PM0602113989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA own correspondent dispatch: "Hungary-USSR: On Foot Across the Border"]

[Text] Budapest—In the very near future, inhabitants of Soviet Transcarpathia and Hungary's Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye, which borders on the USSR, will have the opportunity, irrespective of whether or not they have relatives on these territories, to cross the Hungarian-USSR state border using a simplified procedure.

A principled accord on this subject was secured as a result of talks between representatives of the two countries' foreign ministries, customs and border organs, and local authorities. To mark the occasion a press conference was held at the USSR Embassy in Budapest by the Soviet participants in the talks headed by Yu.M. Sharkov, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry International Law Administration.

In response to your IZVESTIYA correspondent's questions, Yu.M. Sharkov said that a similar agreement already exists. However, it is so complicated by various kinds of restrictions and formalities that it removes any desire people may have to go anywhere. Imagine this: In order to go, for instance, from Chop to Zahony (Soviet and Hungarian border stations a few kilometers apart) and vice versa, a Soviet or Hungarian citizen needs to prove that he is indeed related to someone living on the other side of the border. Moreover, he must without fail have an invitation and various documents, which he has to spend a great deal of time obtaining.

The new agreement (it will enter into force after both countries' governments have ratified it) radically changes things. Now all inhabitants of Transcarpathia and Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye without exception can go to Hungary or the USSR whenever they want. Soviet citizens only have to obtain a special insert to their passport from internal affairs organs to go to Hungary, enabling them for the subsequent year to cross the border for a period of up to 30 days unimpeded and without additional formalities. Moreover, they can not only go on foot, as is now the case, but also by car and, of course, by bicycle.

The simplified crossing (transit) points will operate daily from 1000 to 1800 in order to ensure that the border is not "overloaded" at certain times. Joint Soviet-Hungarian border and customs inspection will be organized there in order to reduce the document checking procedure.

The new agreement, which is the first of its kind, will indisputably revive border contacts between the population and help develop fraternal relations between the two neighboring countries.

Hungary's Horn on DPRK Downgrading Relations

LD0302133789 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 3 feb 89

[Text] Budapest February 3 TASS—The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) decided to downgrade the level of diplomatic relations with Hungary from the ambassadorial level to the level of charge d'affaires and to recall its ambassador from Hungary and to demand that the Hungarian side recall its ambassador from People's Korea. This decision is expressed in a note of the DPRK's Foreign Ministry sent to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, reports the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY.

This measure, the note says, was taken in connection with the establishment of diplomatic realtions between Hungary and South Korea.

On Friday the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG published an interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in connection with the signing of an agreement on establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and South Korea. Touching on the retaliatory measures of People's Korea, he pointed out that the decision on establishing diplomatic relations was not spearheaded against the DPRK in any way.

Starting with the 1940s, Hungary, not only in words but also in deeds, has always expressed solidarity with the DPRK both in bilateral relations and at international fora. In September 1988, that is after Hungary started developing contacts with South Korea, Hungary and the DPRK co-sponsored an initiative at the U.N. which is aimed at eliminating discriminatory measures against the DPRK and at settling the Korean question peacefully. In other words, Hungary did not make a single step which would have infringed upon the interests of People's Korea or would have been aimed against its actions in the international arena, including those aimed at a peaceful reunification of Korea, noted Horn.

Supreme Soviet's Zagladin Receives GDR Aide

PM0602110189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 2 February V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, had a meeting with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister H. Ott. During a friendly conversation they discussed bilateral cooperation issues.

G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Honecker Accepts Magnitogorsk Worker's Invitation

LD0202162689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] In connection with the approaching 60th anniversary of Magnitogorsk, (Chistyakov) a worker at the metallurgy combine situated there, sent a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, inviting him to take part in the festivities. In 1931, together with other young German communists, Honecker worked at this construction site. Having expressed his cordial gratitude for the invitation, Honecker, in his reply, said that he would be happy to attend the celebrations, circumstances permitting.

The town's leaders supported the worker's initiative, and sent Honecker an invitation to attend the Magnitogorsk Day festivities.

Latin America & Caribbean

TASS Reports on Paraguayan Situation

Report on 'Rebellion

LD0302084189 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Buenos Aires February 3 TASS—Paraguayan army units staged a rebellion against dictator General Alfredo Stroessner in Asuncion, Paraguay's capital, last night.

According to news agencies, tanks of the first army corps opened fire at the central police station and the presidential guard.

Simultaneously, a radio station broadcast a statement by First Army Corps Commander General Andres Rodriguez, who led the rebellion. Rodriguez is second-in-command in the armed forces to Stroessner.

His statement said that the rebels had left their barracks to defend their dignity and restore democracy and human rights in the country.

The command of the third and fourth infantry divisions, stationed accordingly 200 kilometres south and 500 kilometres north of Asuncion, declared their support for the rebels.

According to an ASSOCIATED PRESS report, Stroessner who ruled Paraguay for 34 years was plaeced under arrest.

Residents Celebrate

LD0402100189 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 4 Feb 89

["TASS Correspondent Comments on Events in Paraguay"—TASS headline]

[Text] Brasilia February 4 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Golenkov:

Thousands of residents of Asuncion, Paraguay's capital, and other cities of Paraguay were out in streets on February 3 to celebrate the toppling of General Stroessner's dictatorship. Overturned cars, scorched houses, holes made by bullets and shells, evidence of last night's fighting, could be seen everywhere.

According to the Catholic radio station's public opinion poll, the first-ever after the military coup, 90 percent of respondents favoured a thorough democratic reform and a civilian government in the country.

The coup began in Paraguay on the grounds of the first armoured infantry army, not far from the capital city, at about 10.00 p.m. local time, on Thursday. Soon after midnight army insurgents attacked the presidential guards, stationed 500 metres from the dictator's residence. Practically all military units took the side of the insurgents. At 7:30 a.m. on Friday General Andres Rodriguez, who led the coup, declared its victory. The coup was so unexpected and fast that no world tv company could report the Asuncion events live. Stroessner was arrested at the capital airport when trying to escape. Later he was given 12 hours to leave Paraguay. Chile's government expressed readiness to provide refuge to the ousted dictator.

About 40 top army men and ministers of the regime were also arrested, the Brazilian TV company Globo reported. Many of them were arrested in Port-Stroessner, 350 kilometres from Asuncion. They tried to cross the Brazilian frontier in the area of Foz de Iguazu. About 300 lives were lost in the coup in Paraguay, but the figure has not yet been officially confirmed, the TV company said.

General Rodriguez, 64, who was considered Stroessner's close associate, is one of the richest men in Paraguay. His daughter is married to the former dictator's youngest son. A few years ago the United States accused Rodriguez of being involved in drug trafficking, but was unable to prove anything. Speaking at the swearing-in ceremony at 5.00 p.m. Friday, Rodriguez promised democratisation in the country and respect for human rights. He also promised a more democratic election legislation. Answering journalists' questions here, Brazil's President Jose Sarney said that any changes towards democratisation in Latin America would be welcomed by the countries in the region.

Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti, who made a stop-over here on Friday on his way to Uruguay, also expressed the hope that the events in Paraguay would lead to democracy.

Meanwhile, according to leading observers, so far it is impossible to predict the political implications of the events in Paraguay.

Stroessner came to power in Paraguay in a military coup in 1954. In the course of seven elections in the past 34 years he was invariably "re-elected" to the presidency. The latest "election" was held last February. It was officially announced that the dictator was "supported" by about 90 per cent of the electorate. He intended to rule the country until 1993.

Paraguayan Communists' Statement Noted

LD0402065289 Moscow TASS in English 0648 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Buenos Aires February 4 TASS—The underground Paraguayan Communist Party has called upon the people to fight for really democratic changes and better living conditions for the broad working masses.

A statement of the Political Commission of the Paraguayan Communist Party's Central Committee, which has been circulated in Buenos Aires, puts forward the concrete tasks facing the broad opposition in the new political situation in the country following the overthrow of the Stroessner dictatorship. The priority demands are the release of all political prisoners, provisions of information about the "missing" patriots, including Antonio Maidana, Miguel Angel Solera and other Paraguayan communists.

The Paraguayan Communist Party's statement stresses the need for the early elimination of the repressive dictatorship apparatus and stern punishment of butcher Stroessner and his accomplices. Other demands include a rise in wages, land to the peasants, conditions for unhindered activities for all political parties and public organizations.

Shevardnadze Sends Message to Peru

LD3101224989 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—Messages exchanged by the Soviet and Peruvian foreign ministers on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries due to be observed on February 1 express mutual confidence that friendly Soviet-Peruvian relations will continue to develop fruitfully in the interests of both countries, of the cause of peace, mutual understanding and cooperation of nations.

The telegram sent by Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that Soviet-Peruvian relations served as an example of dynamic, equitable and versatile cooperation. The USSR and Peru successfully cooperate in the strengthening of peace. The world can be rid of the nuclear war threat only by joint efforts of all the countries, on the basis of the humanization of international relations and the introduction of principles of new political thinking into their everyday practices. The Soviet Union highly appreciates Peru's contribution to the quest for ways towards the improvement of the world situation.

In his turn, Luis Gonzalez Posada, Peruvian foreign minister, pointed out in his message that both Peru, the same as the Soviet Union, seeking to attain the great goal of ensuring peace and security put forward major initiatives on disarmament, a peaceful settlement of conflicts, the establishment of a new international economic order and effectively promoted the consolidation of the detente climate in modern interstate relations.

Delegation Attends Venezuelan Inauguration

Delegation Departs Moscow

LD2801152589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0750 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jan (TASS)—A USSR delegation headed by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, departed today from Moscow for Caracas. It will take part in the events connected with the taking up of office by the Venezuelan president.

Arrives in Caracas

LD3101092189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2015 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Caracas, 30 Jan (TASS)—A USSR delegation headed by T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived here today to take part in the festive events devoted to the accession of the office for 5 years of the new president of Venezuela, Carlos Andres

At Caracas international airport the USSR delegation was met by German Nava Carrillo, the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, and other officials.

President-Elect Meets Delegation

LD0102113789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0005 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Caracas, 1 Feb (TASS)—Carlos Andres Perez, who assumes the presidency of Venezuela on 2 February, Tuesday received a USSR delegation that arrived to participate in events on the occasion of his assumption of power. The delegation is headed by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During a conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, they examined contemporary international issues. The sides analyzed the state of Soviet-Venezuelan relations, pointing out the great potential for their further expansion and intensification in every sphere.

C. Andres Perez gave a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's initiatives directed toward resolving the most urgent problems common to all humanity—elimination of the threat of thermonuclear war, the strengthening of international security, and the building of a nonviolent world. He noted the great personal contribution of M.S. Gorbachev to the development of processes promoting the general warming of the global political climate.

The head of the Soviet delegation passed on a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev to the Venezuelan president.

Delegation Meets New Venezuelan Official

LD0202095389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Caracs, 2 Feb (TASS)—The Soviet delegation, led by T.N. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, and attending the inaugural events of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, was received

by Enrique Tejera Paris the country's new foreign minister. The sides called for the further expansion and deepening of Soviet- Venezuelan relations in political, economic, cultural, and other areas.

E. Tejera Paris wished for the success of the process of restructuring in the USSR, stressing that it is a powerful factor of positive influence on the development of the international situation. He noted that there is understanding and support in Venezuela for the new political thinking proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and which lies at the basis of the present-day Soviet foreign policy. The minister welcomed the Soviet initiatives announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his recent speech at the United Nations and also the latest bold steps by the USSR in the area of disarmament.

Delegation Returns from Venezuela

LD0602022889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Caracus, 5 February (TASS)—A Soviet delegation led by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which participated in the events connected with the assumption of the duties of the President of Venezuela by Carlos Andres Perez, left for home today.

The Soviet delegation was received by Andres Perez, to whom a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was conveyed. The delegation also met with Octavio Lepage, president of the Congress of the Republic, and Jose Rodriguez Iturbe, president of the chamber of Deputies of the Venezuelan parliament. The conversations considered international problems and bilateral relations. A mutual desire to expand and deepen relations for the benefit of both countries was expressed. It was pointed out that the peaceloving initiatives of the Soviet Union and the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations are exerting a positive influence on relaxing tension in the international situation, and are developing an atmosphere of trust in the world.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports on Chernavin's Cuba Visit

PM0202120789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Departure for Cuba"]

[Text] Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister and Navy commander in chief, departed 30 January on an official visit to Cuba at the invitation of Raul Castro Ruz, member of the Politburo and second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, first vice chairman of the Republic of Cuba Councils of State and Ministers, and minister of the Republic of Cuba Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin was seen off at the airport by Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services, and by other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Colonel R. Marrero Gomez, military attache at the Republic of Cuba Embassy in the Soviet Union, was among the sendoff party.

Cooperation Agreement Signed with Suriname

LD0402183389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1221 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Georgetown, 4 Feb (TASS)—In the capital of Suriname, Paramaribo, a program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and the republic of Suriname for 1989-1990 was signed. It envisions strengthening and development of friendly ties in the spheres of science, culture, and sports. The USSR and Suriname intend for the first time to exchange art exhibitions and performing collectives. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Muslims Hold Unauthorized Assembly in Tashkent

LD0402143989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text], 4 Feb (TASS)—An assembly of believers which was not authorized by city authorities and which lasted for 3 hours was held last Friday in Tashkent, the capital of the central Asian republic of Uzbekistan. More than 200 Muslims who arrived from the villages and towns of Uzbekistan, as well as from the neighboring republics of Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, participated in it. They were raising demands concerning internal questions of their religious organizations and insisted on interference [as received] of state bodies into the affairs of the Spritiual Administration of Muslims in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

As a TASS correspondent was told by the city department of internal affairs, the events began to snowball after daily prayer in the Tashkent Tilla-Sheikh [name as received] Mosque, in which many participated. The group moved toward the city center. Traffic in the city was disturbed. Measures were taken by the militiamen to prevent violations of public order and to provide safety for the citizens of the town and the believers themselves.

There were no clashes with the militia, either during the time of the movement or during the process of assembly of the believers. The slogans of those who gathered were of an exclusively religious nature.

Twenty-five representatives of the group were received by Gayrat Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbekistan Council of Ministers.

It was explained to them that these questions put by believers are not within the competence of the government and should be solved by the clergy. The demands of the group were handed to the Spiritual Administration of Muslims via the authorized Council for Religious Affairs of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

As Sheikh Yusuf Khan Shakirov [name as received] deputy chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, said, the questions touched upon by the believers will be examined at the session of the presidium of the religious administration on Monday, 6 February.

2 Ukrainian Human Rights Activists Arrested

AU0402210389 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 4 (AFP)—Two members of the Ukrainian human rights group set up to monitor the Soviet Union's observance of the 1975 Helsinki accords were arrested on Saturday [4 February], the group said here.

Group spokesman Nikolay Muratov said that Svyacheslav Chernovil and Levko Lukanienko were arrested in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev.

According to Valeriy Senderov, a member in Moscow of the West German-based International Organisation for the Defence of Human Rights, Mr. Lukanienko was driven to the town of Chernigov, 135 kilometres (85 miles) north of Kiev, and set free.

Mr. Senderov said he had no news of Mr. Chernovil.

Mr. Lukanienko, born in 1928, spent many years in labour camps. In July 1978, he was sentenced to ten years in a hard labour camp to be followed by five years house arrest for anti-Soviet propaganda.

Sakharov on Interview Inaccuracies; Restructuring

PM0602170889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

["Letter to the Editorial Office" from Academician A. Sakharov: "I Actively Support Restructuring"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial article "Restructuring and Responsibility" (IZVESTIYA No 33) generated a fairly active and contradictory response by readers and gave rise to quite a few questions from them.

We believe that the bulk of them will be dealt with by A. Sakharov's letter which he sent to IZVESTIYA and in which he outlines his views of the item published in the French newspaper and the processes occurring in the country.

We publish it without any abridgment at all.

The article entitled "Restructuring and Responsibility" accused me of making irresponsible statements in an interview for the French newspaper LE FIGARO. As a matter of fact I did not give an interview to LE FIGARO—it was a free conversation over a cup of tea with Mr Barou, who was visiting from France. That was the first time I had seen him. Barou published a book about me in the early eighties. Ever since our return from Gorkiy he has been striving to arrange a meeting with me; I kept refusing for a long time, but ultimately I felt uncomfortable with endlessly refusing and so I gave my consent in early January. My wife and I believed that he was collecting material for a future book and did not in any way imagine that our answers and explanations would be promptly presented in an interview form which, furthermore, contained a series of inaccuracies. We strove to speak as clearly as possible, without any nuances or subtleties, often simplifying the more complex and ambiguous terms, especially since the conversation was conducted via an interpreter.

Specifically, we discussed the shortcomings of the new electoral system and the amendments to the Constitution as I perceived them (soon enough, many of these fears concerning the "sifting" of candidates were confirmed many times over during the election campaign, including that enlarged plenum of the Academy of Sciences Presidium of lamentable fame).

In my view, the fundamental shortcoming of the electoral system is the multiple-stage nature of the election of Supreme Soviet deputies and its chairman, who is elected by a congress of people's deputies. I am convinced that only direct elections would produce the people's mandate and simultaneously offer protection against sundry intrigues and pressure from the apparatus. My wife and I tried to explain this idea to our interlocutor, emphasizing that indirect elections increase the danger of the chairman being overthrown or of the deformation of the political line pursued by him. This is the point which produced the misunderstanding. Meanwhile, there was no mention of the fact that my wife said: "Gorbachev should not fear direct elections! He will be elected by the people without fail. Our country has no other leader!" I fully agree with this.

The IZVESTIYA article says: "The principles of socialist renewal must be defended, as must those people who have assumed enormous responsibility for the social transformations and linked their destiny with the revolution of restructuring." I cannot accept this reproach against me. I actively support restructuring. I am convinced of the necessity of it for our country and the whole world, I am worried about its difficulties. I rate very highly the role of restructuring's initiators and especially that of M.S. Gorbachev, and on many occasions I have said and written this both in the USSR and the West—but this is precisely why I feel myself entitled and obliged to speak openly about all the negative and dangerous tendencies and phenomena. Moreover, I take advantage of all opportunities offered by the Soviet press (which are at times blocked) and by the Western press. I do not pursue the goal of organizing interference in the USSR's internal affairs but proceed from the premise that in fundamental issues like restructuring, peace, ecology, and human rights there is no difference between our interests and Western interests—there are only the joint interests of mankind's survival. The West must support restructuring by all possible means, but must do so with its eyes open, understanding and taking into account everything that is happening in our country.

The IZVESTIYA article condemns my statements about the events in Transcaucasia. The text published in LE FIGARO contains a number of inaccuracies for which I am not responsible (for instance, the claim that in Armenia, as distinct from Azerbaijan, there is no mafia. I did not say that and it does not correspond to the truth. Who, if not the mafia, offered huge bribes to members of the "Karabakh" Committee in an attempt to induce them to withdraw their candidacies in the Supreme Soviet elections.). On the whole, I regard the IZVESTIYA criticism as unfair. I am deeply concerned at the tragic events in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Scorn of any people is completely alien to me. I believe in the healthy forces of both the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. I regard the introduction of the special form of administration in Nagorno-Karabakh as important and necessary (if belated). (My conversation with Barou took place before this decision was adopted). At the same time, I cannot but note a certain "asymmetry" in the role played by the Azerbaijani and the Armenian side in the development of the conflict and the, in my opinion, biased role of the central authorities and that of the central press, especially during the first few months. I am especially concerned at the arrests of members of the "Karabakh" Committee and "Krunk," who enjoy enormous constructive authority among the people and the intelligentsia.

5 February 1989.

From the Editorial Office:

Now about the nature of the readership's reaction to the editorial article.

Naturally, we all value glasnost very highly, but why view any article that does not coincide with your own viewpoint as an attack on "glasnost"—why see "an ulterior motive" even in the genre of article chosen by the editorial office? That first.

And second, this reaction compels us to give some thought to what extent we have become accustomed to the idea that glasnost calls for a frank discussion even when one would like to sidestep such a discussion.

Essentially, what has emerged is the unreadiness of some of us to accept glasnost in all its dialectic complexity. People have rebuked us: What was the use, in general, of taking issue with this article?—after all, Sakharov is a supporter of restructuring. We had no misgivings on this account either, but the point is that the material published in LE FIGARO, or excerpts from it, were reprinted in many of Western news media and practically all "the voices" broadcast it to our country, which, frankly speaking, perturbed public opinion in the country and in addition was a kind of gift to the enemies of restructuring who used it as an illustration that all was not well in the restructuring camp. For the newspaper to remain silent in this situation would have meant sidestepping a discussion on questions of fundamental importance. IZVESTIYA has not sidestepped this discussion, nor does it intend to do so in the future.

As for the specific problems raised in the editorial article and in . Sakharov's letter, the Soviet press, television, and radio have reported and are reporting so much information, so many views and judgments on these problems that every reader can form his own opinion.

Official Says 'No Political Prisoners' in USSR

LD0502123189 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] A deputy Soviet minister for the interior, (Leonid Syzov), has dismissed as unfounded the Western radio reports that there are the so-called prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union.

As the official confirmed in an interview, there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

In the past 2 years, according to (Leonid Syzov), 356 such people have been released from prison.

Law Official Filatov Explains Draft Criminal Code

LD0502223189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] How is the [USSR criminal] code coming into being? Comrade Filatov [deputy chairman of USSR Supreme Court], the chairman of the working group for preparing the draft bases of the criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics tells our correspondent about it.

[Filatov] It must be noted that for the first time the draft bases envision that the criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics should rest on the principles of socialist legality, democratism, the inevitability of accountability, the quality of citizens before the law, personal liability and liability for guilt [slichnaya i vinovnaya otvetstvennost], justice, and humanism. To speak more specifically, in the draft law better founded delimitations of crimes have been brought in according to their degree of danger to the public [obshchestvennaya opasnost]. They are being divided into especially serious, serious, and less serious crimes not of greater danger to the public. The existing bases give only a list of serious crimes.

The system of punishment is given in more detail in the new draft law. It is now constructed in such a way that the court, in passing sentences, will have the option of using punishments not involving the deprivation of liberty. This principle can be formulated like this: punishment in the shape of deprivation of liberty can only be given in cases where its aims cannot be achieved by any other, milder, punishment.

It must be said that the draft does not contain such punishment as internal exile and expulsion, which have not justifed themselves in practice. At the same time, in the interests of greater differentiation of criminal liability, and of ensuring the necessary corrective influence on the lawbreaker, it is proposed to introduce new types of criminal punishment into the bases, particularly the restriction of freedom of criminal labor for the person found guilty, but naturally in conditions of supervision being implemented over them. Also being introduced is custody of up to 3 months.

It must be noted that the draft bases have noticeably reduced the possibility of using the sole penalty, the death penalty. According to the draft being proposed, it can only be used for premeditated state crimes, for espionage and state treason, for terrorist actions and sabotage. In addition it is proposed that the death penalty should not be used against persons under the age of 18, women, or men over the age of 60.

I especially want to speak about an important innovation, which is the notion of economic risk [khozyaystvenniy risk]. I mean cases of ill-founded prosecution of heads of production and agricultural organizations who, for the sake of the interests of production, have sometimes permitted some deviations from directives of various kinds. Now this activity has received recognition in the form of the relevant article of the draft bases. It provides for exemption from criminal responsibility on the grounds of economic risk. [video shows Filatov in study reading to correspondent from notes]

Council of Ministers Meets on Reform 4 Feb

LD0502101389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0500 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers met on 4 February and discussed questions concerning the restructuring of the country's foreign economic links and tasks for further improving them in the course of the economic reform. Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Foreign Ministry, opened the meeting and gave a report.

Election Commission's Orlov Interview on Campaign

PM0502181589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1, 2

[V. Lyubitskiy interview with O. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission: "Balance in Favor of Democracy"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Lyubitskiy] Vladimir Pavlovich, news has recently been published that the Central Electoral Commission has generalized the results of the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs and social organizations. Readers have called the editorial office and are interested in more detailed data...

[Orlov] This was a crucial phase in the election campaign. The preliminary analysis carried out at the last session of the Central Electoral Commission showed that nominations generally took place in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost. Admittedly there were also other instances, but they did not determine the nature of the present campaign.

The organization of the meetings, conferences, and plenums where candidates were nominated was quite high. Misgivings that democratization of election work would lead to anarchy and "open the floodgates" and so on proved groundless. On the contrary it was precisely in those areas where people tried to "stagemanage" things and confine voters' wishes to some artificial framework, in accordance with stereotypes, that conflict situations generally arose. But in those areas where the requisite conditions were created for open and honest debate, people were able to consciously elaborate and clearly express their positions.

According to preliminary data, approximately 7,500 candidates have been nominated for 1,500 seats in electoral okrugs. Of these, 23.7 percent and 9 percent are workers and kolkhoz members respectively. Women comprise virtually one-sixth—15.8 percent. Of course, it is too early to form a final judgment on the social composition of the candidates that have been proposed; okrug election meetings, where definite amendments will be made, lie ahead.

Social organizations have already named and registered 880 candidates for 750 seats. Workers and kolkhoz members form 15.9 percent and 10.3 percent respectively and workers from science, education, and health care and literary and art figures 35.7 percent. This group of candidates includes prominent politicians, major scientists, and well known cultural representatives. Some 75 percent of the candidates have higher education and almost one-third a degree and an academic title.

One cannot fail to point out that the last stage of the election campaign was notable for the active competition between those contending the nomination and the voters' considerable activeness, and this convincingly illustrates that political reform is being implemented.

[Lyubitskiy] Nonetheless, Vladimir Pavlovich, the elections themselves, as the crucial stage of the struggle, still lie ahead. Do the voters still have the freedom of choice that is to be one of our new democratic realities? How many candidates are there to be per seat in electoral okrugs?

[Orlov] On average there are six candidate deputies per seat in territorial electoral okrugs and four in national-territorial okrugs. According to the commission's data, 30 percent of electoral okrugs have nominated no more than 2 candidates each. This has enabled them to begin registering them.

There are cases where one candidate's overwhelming prestige has enabled him to win the future voters' absolute confidence at this stage. In other okrugs there are three or more contenders for one seat. In some places the figure ranges from 16 to 35. Candidates will be registered there after okrug election meetings.

[Lyubitskiy] I would now like to return to the facts that you mentioned at the beginning. Since one of the Central Electoral Commission's main powers is to monitor execution of the Law on Elections throughout the USSR, can we tell the readers what violations of this law have been detected at the stage of nomination of candidate deputies and what steps have been taken?

[Orlov] There have been individual cases where legislation has been violated. In particular, certain ispolkoms of certain local soviets of people's deputies and okrug electoral commissions unwarrantedly refused to allow voters to hold meetings to nominate candidate deputies in their place of residence. Citizens received this opportunity following intervention from the Central Electoral Commission in a number of cities and rayons. Cases can also be cited where, having made a mistake, local organs were then able to rectify it themselves and met the voters' legitimate requests.

What are the reasons for the misunderstandings? I am not inclined to see them as a malicious desire on the part of local organs to "curb" democracy—as a number of letter writers believe. In most cases poor knowledge or arbitrary interpretation—from force of habit—of the clauses of the Law on Elections on the part of individual members of the electoral commissions, leaders of public organizations, and soviet and party workers have taken their toll. This must be taken into account in order to ensure that no mistakes are made at the next stages of the election campaign, especially during the elections themselves.

Let me point out that since it began its activity the Central Electoral Commission has received more than 2,000 appeals by mail, cable, telephone, and in person from voters. Approximately half of them directly concern the problems of forming supreme organs of power and particular aspects of election work. Every complaint about electoral commission or local soviet decisions and actions is checked and steps taken when violations are uncovered.

[Lyubitskiy] I would like to take this opportunity to ask you to comment on two cables received by the PRAVDA editorial office. The first is signed by members of the Yaroslavl independent "Izbiratel" Club. They proposed registering all the candidates nominated in any one okrug rather than holding okrug election meetings.

[Orlov] Proposals like this were already made during the discussion of the draft Law on Elections but they were justifiably rejected. Notwithstanding their outward supposedly democratic nature, they would in effect have excluded from the election campaign a very important phase of public and social checks on the future elected representatives' civic positions and their readiness and ability to fulfill a deputy's obligations. What is the significance of leaving on the ballot paper 10-15 names with which the voter is unfamiliar? None other than to deprive him of an opportunity to make a conscious

choice. Moreover, no one has the right to take away from okrug electoral commissions the rights they have been given—and I stress!—by law...

[Lyubitskiy] The other cable is from the city of Mytishch near Moscow. Its writers sound the alarm in connection with the their okrug electoral commission's intention to reject—they think —"the unsuitable candidacy of F.Ya. Shipunov," a scientist and active champion of ecologically advisable policy.

[Orlov] We have also received several complaints from Mytishch with dozens or even hundreds of signatures. These statements indicate that the first meeting to nominate candidates was unsuccessful since it was scheduled for an inconvenient time and announced late, and at the second meeting violations were permitted in organizing discussion of the candidacies and counting the votes. The Central Electoral Commission has instructed the Moscow Oblispolkom to investigate what happened. I think that we will obtain an objective appraisal in the near future.

[Lyubitskiy] The Moscow city national-territorial okrug No 1 electoral commission even revealed two forged protocols relating to the nomination of candidates.

[Orlov] As you can see, such distortions are taking place. These protocols, as MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reported, have been sent to the prosecutor's office for legal action but, in my opinion, they indicate one thing—the poor legal standard of their authors and attempts to "circumvent" democracy in a roundabout way. Unworthy games!

[Lyubitskiy] In conclusion, Vladimir Pavlovich, could you say a few words about the current stage of the election campaign. What are the Central Commission's current concerns?

[Orlov] We are concerned as to how efficient and well-organized the okrug election meetings and the registration or candidate deputies in electoral okrugs will be. Meetings with such wide-ranging powers will be held first. The Central Electoral Commission is endeavoring to give okrug commissions the appropriate prompt explanations and recommendations through instructional letters and consultations via the mass media and also by replying directly to questions from election commissions, social organizations, and citizens.

The success of the okrug election meetings will in many respects depend on thorough observance of the norms fixed by law and on how democratically the candidacies and their election programs are discussed and how responsibly the participants in the meetings adopt decisions on candidates presented for registration. As for the preparations for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations, meetings of candidates in grassroots links have already begun.

'Statistical Portrait' of Deputy Candidates

LD0402211489 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—By TASS news analyst Lyudmila Yermakova: The registration of candidates to people's deputies of the USSR from public organisations is over. By its results one can piece together a rather accurate statistical portrait of these organisations' representatives.

The Central Election Commission reported that 880 people were registered for 750 deputy mandates. Over 88 per cent of them are Communists or alternate members of the Soviet Communist Party, about 12 per cent are members of the Young Communist League (Komsomol). One hundred and ninety eight candidates are women. But if one is to take into account that nearly a half of them were nominated by the Soviet Women's Committee, it will be clear that there are not so many women activists in other organizations.

The candidates' national composition is diverse: They represent 40 nationalities from all union republics. There are also envoys of small ethnic groups, among them, Adygeis, Lezghins, Tats, Avars, Lakhs, and Gilyaks.

The candidates' age range is rather wide: there are young people under 24 years-old and there are candidates who are over 60. By the way, the latter are in by far larger numbers. The most mass group—over one third of candidates—is made up of people between 30 and 49 years- old.

Several tens of candidates have a record of work in the supreme body of state authority, almost 350 are deputies of republican supreme soviets and local soviets. The majority claim the right to state management for the first time.

Figures show that scientists, public health workers, and creative intelligentsia are most active participants in social life. The number of workers is considerably less. The number of peasants, among whom there are 53 collective farm directors, is still less. Interestingly, the number of businesses heads and specialists in all branches of the national economy is almost the same.

There are many people among the candidates, who have state awards: 121 Heroes of the Soviet Union and of Socialist Labour, the nation's highest awards, and 165 laureates of the Lenin and State Prizes of the USSR.

Following a statistical review of the candidates' pool, it appeared that many of the figures differ drastically from those which characterize the Supreme Soviet's present composition.

Belorussian Official on Chernobyl Health Measures
LD0302235989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Additional measures are being taken in Belorussia to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident:

[A. Zhuk, identified by caption] Glasnost is winning through. That is, perhaps, the best way of starting this report. For the people of the republic—even this long after the accident at the Chernobyl AES—had not been apprised of all there was to know about it. Even those maps were virtually semi-secret, if not actually secret. The radiation zone contamined by Cesium-137 covered 11 rayons in Gomel and 6 rayons in Mogilev oblasts. It encompassed 415 population centers, where 103,000 people were living. A large amount of work still remains to be done to decontaminate the terrain and buildings. The government of the Belorussian SSR is proposing to resettle the inhabitants of another 20 population centers to well-appointed, new settlements in a clear zone.

The tragic event of Chernobyl has left a deep and unhealed scar on the republic. This was noted today at this meeting between members of the republican government commission and representatives of the people of the republic.

[N.I. Dementey, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, identified by caption] Throughout the 3 years since the accident in 1986, the main criterion of our work has been health. The doctors have shown that there are no health changes for the worse and that there is no indication at the moment of an increase in mortality or of the appearance of illnesses. Nevertheless, for our part we ought to be vigilant. Because the environment today ought to improve from the point of view of carrying out agricultural work. Accordingly, there are specially prepared machines for working in these conditions where dust is kicked up (?and carried along). We also ought to pay attention to the produce which we receive now, to make sure that it is absolutely clean and fit for consumption by our people. At the moment this is under rigid control. The conference today and our meeting with journalists again look to public control to ensure that not a single official department anywhere oversimplifies or backs down from the recommendations made today by the Health Ministry, which is focusing our attention on the total health of the people living and working in this zone. [video shows meeting in progress; a map headed 'Radiation Situation on the Territory of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts as of 21 Dec 1988'; man holding book with map up to audience; large white card headed 'Structure of the Radiation monitoring Network,' illustrating a flowchart; interview with Dementey]

New Armenian Premier Interviewed on Tasks
PM0302151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 February 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V.S. Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, by IZVESTIYA own correspondent S. Bablumyan under the rubric "Names and Events": "Head of the Armenian Government"—date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Yerevan—Vladimir Surenovich Markaryants has been named chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

He was born in 1934 in the city of Yeysk in Krasnodar Kray. He worked as a lathe operator, a shop chief, a plant director, and graduated as an external student from an institute and the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School. Then he was rayispolkom chairman, party raykom first secretary, krayispolkom deputy chairman, and CPSU kraykom secretary—all in Stavropol Kray. His last post was as deputy minister of the USSR medical and microbiological industry.

[Bablumyan] You are starting work in extraordinary circumstances. How do you assess the situation in the republic?

[Markaryants] We will have to give some further thought to sorting out what has happened. But one thing is for certain—the situation is truly extraordinary. I am not only referring to the terrible misfortune which befell our land—it was not easy here even before the earthquake. There are many reasons for this. For a long time the republic was plagued by stagnation phenomena, and people could not find a way out of it, or rather, they did not search for it properly. The people suffered a great deal because no one wanted to listen to or understand them, and their needs and expectations were treated with indifference. In this situation irresponsible people, who did not think about the common people and the consequences which would ensue, started to take the lead. Hence this particular reaction which then took the form of unrest and disturbances. It was very hurtful for me to hear about this when I was outside Armenia. I know that ours is an ancient, intelligent, and industrious people. Of course, we need time to get out of this situation. The main concern today is that everyone does his work. For us this is primarily to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, and to restore normal life in Armenia.

[Bablumyan] Natural disasters, especially on this scale, make us stop and think. And mainly about this: Why were the human losses so great, why was there so much damage to our national resources? I realize that the time has not yet come for final conclusions, but nonetheless...

[Markaryants] Agreed. The calamity not only revealed the people's best qualities, but also revealed bad work. How was it possible to ignore the bitter experience

already gained, aware that construction was under way in a zone of enhanced seismic risk? Today we are justified in claiming that the quality of the choice of sites for development, design, and construction was poor.

Before meeting you I was talking with my comrades on the question of where to locate one of the rayon centers. They said to me: "The rayon center should not be put here." "Where should it be put then?" I ask. "We don't know... "

But there is a sensible rule: If you reject something, then suggest something else! What else is there to do? Today we must make sure that not a single republic, not a single oblast can say that their work is being held back in Armenia. After all, they came to help. We must replace disorganization and inefficiency as quickly as possible with a sense of obligation and decisiveness, we must deserve and earn the right to demand from those helping the republic good designs, high-quality construction, and shock work.

[Babiumyan] The day before our meeting I asked my friends: What question would you like to ask the Council of Ministers chairman? Most suggested asking: What does the new leader know about Yerevan's ecological state?

[Markaryants] I know, for example, that almost 70 percent of harmful discharge into the atmosphere is from cars. The city's geographical situation is such that all this filth lies like a thick blanket on the townspeople. We are going to switch cars to gas, and take other measures. Yerevan's municipal services are also in a state of neglect, and the social sphere in the countryside is largely undeveloped. There is a great deal of work to be done...

[Bablumyan] Vladimir Surenovich, a few words about your family...

[Markaryants] I have one son. He is a VUZ graduate, he is married and works. My wife is a historian, she has beeen working at an agricultural institute, in the party history faculty.

[Bablumyan] How is your knowledge of Armenian?

[Markaryants] I was born, grew up, and worked in a multinational region of the country where everything was in Russian. I understand Armenian, but my conversation is not good. But that can be ameliorated.

Jesse Jackson Meets Arutyunyan, Leaves Yerevan

NC0302122889 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received the prominent U.S. public and political figure Jesse Jackson yesterday.

During their friendly conversation the guest was briefed in detail about the progress of work to overcome the effects of the fierce earthquake in Armenia. His attention was in particular drawn to the enormous aid provided to the Armenian people, which immediately flowed in from all corners of our multinational country and from all over the world.

Suren Arutyunyan expressed gratitude and thanks to the U.S. people, government, and public humanitarian organizations, as well as to its individual citizens. In view of this, the importance of Jesse Jackson's visit to Armenia was underlined, the aim of which is to contribute to organizing the aid sent to the victims of the earthquake.

Jesse Jackson said that the aim of his visit is to search for fruitful ways to widen cooperation and enhance Soviet-U.S. relations. The U.S. public figure indicated that the natural disaster awakened sympathy in the hearts of people throughout the world and prompted all of mankind toward humanitarian action. It is necessary to maintain this [word indistinct].

During the conversation, replies were given to Jesse Jackson's questions.

Jesse Jackson visited the areas damaged by the earthquake and met with the inhabitants and builders, familiarizing himself with the process of overcoming the disaster.

The U.S. public figure said that the agony produced by the earthquake in Armenia is not confined to the Armenians alone. You are not alone in this tragedy, he said. All mankind is with you. You must survive despite the disaster, and we must do everything possible to alleviate your pain, he added. We want to create cooperation on an international scale so we can engage as many people as possible in the effort to help Armenia, he said.

Jesse Jackson was received at Holy Echmiadzin by Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians. During the conversation, the supreme patriarch said: It is a consolation to me that in this tragic hour for our people we are not alone. All the Soviet peoples are by our side, and almost the whole world, in particular the United States, is helping us.

Jesse Jackson left Yerevan today.

Armenian Patriarch Vazgen I Leaves for U.S.

LD0302131589 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—Vazgen I, supreme patriarch-catholicos of all Armenians, departed for the USA on Friday [3 February]. He was accompanied by Bishop Tiran Kyurigyan, representative of the Armenian Church at the Moscow Patriarchate.

On the eve of his departure, the patriarch-catholicos said the following in an interview with TASS: "My country, beautiful Armenia, is feeling great pain caused by the earthquake. Our grief evoked a warm response everywhere. Since the first days of the tragedy the Soviet Government and all union republics have been giving assistance to the Armenian people on an immense scale. Brothers from various countries, including America, are also helping us."

"Now that some time has passed since the quake," Vazgen I went on to say, "People understand that their humane aspirations to help the quake victims should be purposeful. I go to reply to questions by our brothers who want to participate in reconstruction efforts. They want their efforts to be coordinated and their good deeds and donations to yield the best results."

Patriarch-Catholicos Vazgen I said that in the USA there are Armenian churches connected with Echmiadzin (Armenian religious centre) as well as churches of the Kilikyan and other catholicosates. There are also secular organisations. More than 20 of them in all. "The aim of my trip," said the patriarch-catholicos, "is to promote pooling the aspirations of all Armenian believers and all those who responded to our tragedy and will help us."

The head of the Armenian Church noted that two days ago he had visited the chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and familiarised himself with the future plans of stricken areas.

"I want to tell my American audience, among other things, about the city of Stepanavan where I was and eye-witnessed the scale of destruction," said Vazgen I.

Armenian Minister Says Leninakan Remains 'Tense'
LD0302155389 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan February 3 TASS—The situation in the quake-hit city of Leninakan remains tense, a TASS correspondent was told today by Armenian Interior Minister Usik Arutyunyan.

199 crimes have been registered in the city after the December 7, 1988 earthquake. Those included 77 cases of theft and misappropriation of state property.

The minister attributed this to a "failure to take under protection some economic facilities destroyed by the quake.

"Enterprises and organisations assigned to evacuate material property left these facilities unguarded."

A unit sent by the Ukrainian Interior Ministry was helping the Leninakan militia force to maintain public order in the city, the minister said.

"The task of protecting the population's personal property is complicated by the fact that many people periodically leave their homes due to repeated earth shocks. Nonetheless, the militia cope with protecting personal property."

Despite preventive measures, ten fires broke out in tent camps as elementary fire-safety regulations were breached. As a result, ten tents were burned and one person died in the blaze. Seven people received burns of the various degrees of gravity.

An investigation revealed abuses in the allocation of prefabricated homes and trailers. A number of officials were involved. Three criminal cases were brought against them.

New Armenian Commission To Process Incoming Aid
NC0302120689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The newspaper reports that the republic's council of ministers has discussed the problems related to the assistance provided to the republic for alleviating the effects of the devastating earthquake.

Fraternal assistance to aid the reconstruction of Armenia (?has been sent) from all corners of the Soviet Union and from different foreign countries. The Armenian Government, various ministries, supervisory boards, organizations, and institutions are receiving proposals from abroad for the construction of facilities destroyed by the disaster and in connection with problems related to reconstruction and rebuilding. Material goods and means are also being received.

With the aim of giving a timely evaluation of the proposals coming from abroad concerning assistance to the republic and the organization of procedures [words indistinct], a commission of the republic's council of ministers has been set up under Levon Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers.

The republic's council of ministers has directed the republican ministries, supervisory boards, organizations, unions, and enterprises—acting independently of their departmental affiliations—to inform the [word indistinct] administration of the Foreign Economic Department of the republic's council of ministers about the proposals of the foreign countries, organizations, and particular individuals who have expressed the readiness to provide material, financial, and [word indistinct] assistance; to help in creating the [word indistinct] enterprises and in reconstructing the collectives; to participate in construction and reconstruction; and to establish foreign economic, scientific, and technical ties.

The duties of receiving, inventorying, [word indistinct], and checking the goods [word indistinct] received in the republic from foreign countries in connection with the earthquake have been given to the republic's Communist Reconstruction Committee, Interior Ministry, Prosecutor's Office, and Finance Ministry.

Arutyunyan Addresses Armenia Party-Economic Aktiv
PM0102131589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 3, 4

[Unattributed account of a speech made by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, at 17 January meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv in Yerevan; for further reportage on the party-economic aktiv meeting, see the 23 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 68]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! Natural disaster befell the republic at a time when the situation that had taken shape in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was worsening.

The months of crisis over this acute problem brought both republics to deadlock. The two neighboring peoples found themselves in an extremely dangerous position. Confrontational psychology reached an extraordinary pitch and provoked mass migration of the population and suffering for tens of thousands of people. The growing campaign of recriminations and accusations could not resolve the problem. The continuation of the internecine strife was leading not to truth and justice but to the abyss.

It was difficult to find a way out of the difficult and extremely acute situation. On the one hand, the sentiments and aspirations of the broad people's masses, who rightly expected pressing social problems to be resolved, came into conflict here and, on the other, there was the adventurist activity of the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, who exploited the democratic mechanism and the real difficulties to whip up passions and manipulate public opinion. They began an open struggle for power on the pretext of demanding a just solution to the Karabakh question. They did not balk at inciting people to riot, disseminating malicious rumors, exerting pressure on the representatives of the authorities, and issuing ultimatums.

The situation was aggravated by the fact that the inability of our ideological workers and also our party committees to carry out vital work among the masses confidently and in a well-reasoned fashion became clear in the course of this prolonged and at times exhausting confrontation. Herein lay the utter complexity of the political situation and, I would say, the tragic element in the development of events that brought us to the brink of crisis.

But who did the people instigating the strikes punish? Firstly, ordinary workers and specialists, who lost their wages. Our young people for whom the academic year was in effect ruined. The labor collectives who did not obtain their profits and were up to their eyes in debt. Our entire republic, which lagged drastically behind in socioeconomic development and began to lose prestige as a reliable partner for economic ties.

Under these difficult and most complex conditions, supreme responsibility for the fate of both peoples and for the future of good-neighborly relations between the two republics was required. This responsibility was dictated by the vital long-term interests of all Soviet peoples and the entire country. And by the interests of revolutionary restructuring.

As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question linked with the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh 12 January. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed it advisable to introduce a special form of administration temporarily in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] while preserving Nagorno-Karabakh's status as an autonomous oblast within the Azerbaijan SSR in the light of proposals from Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR party and state organs and also from the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission and with a view to preventing the further exacerbation of interethnic relations and stabilizing the situation in the region. The Committee for the Special Administration of NKAO was formed, chaired by A.I. Volskiy.

The decision that was adopted is unusual. It has no parallel in our state's history. The NKAO Special Administration Committee will work under the direct leadership of USSR party and state organs. The powers of the oblast organs of power have been suspended until the next elections. The NKAO Special Administration Committee, which has been given the party obkom and oblispolkom apparatus as working organs, will fulfill their functions. The oblast's autonomy is not being infringed here.

The committee has been entrusted with the full political, state, and economic administration of the NKAO—ranging from cadre questions to self-financing. With its creation the oblast has in effect obtained self-administration in the realm of planning and material and technical supply. It will above all be guided by centralized help in resolving economic, social, cultural, and other questions. The USSR Gosplan has inserted a special paragraph—on the NKAO—in the economic plan to this end. The committee has been given the right to submit proposals where necessary on questions of state, economic, and sociocultural building in the NKAO directly to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and union ministries and departments. All Nagorno-Karabakh's ties with the union republics are being switched to

the firm basis of equitable economic cooperation. Ties with Armenia, especially, in culture, education, art, and cadre training will be broadened as far as possible.

At present our country has no experience of working under special administration conditions. This experience will be acquired. The main thing is that the decision has been elaborated on the basis of mutually acceptable compromise and on the basis of joint agreement between the two republics. This is a well-considered step that has been dictated by the real situation and will form the basis for resolving the difficult questions that have accumulated in the region. There are no winners or losers here. There is an overall victory for reason and good will, designed to begin the only correct path that will lead to peace in our common home.

The two republics' responsibility for normalizing interethnic relations, improving the political and ideological atmosphere around Nagorno-Karabakh, and reviving the traditional good-neighborliness between the two peoples is not just maintained but even increased with the adoption of measures at USSR level. It is time to begin the turnaround to peace-making steps. It is our common duty to elaborate an integral program for restoring reciprocal ties, ensuring real guarantees of security for citizens, and creating conditions for refugees to return to their permanent place of residence. People's unshakeable belief that we will only be able to ensure progress for society and prosperity for citizens within the friendly family of all our peoples must be restored.

The efforts of party organizations and all Communists must be channeled into radically changing the situation, normalizing public life, and consolidating all the healthy forces within the republic. Everyone who is honest today must rally round the restructuring banner. Let's cleanse the people's movement born of democracy and glasnost of everything that is alien and of everything that is standing in the way of the main aim—the renewal of all aspects of our life.

Today it is the task of all party committees, all the republic's ideological organizations, press, television, social scientists, and creative unions to make every worker and every citizen mentally and emotionally aware of the political sense and humanist and internationalist essence of the document that has been adopted. Comrades, people must be convinced that the only correct and just path is the path of compromise rather than the path of confrontation.

Hard work lies ahead. We have not yet been able to overcome a certain mental barrier that exists between healthy, sober-minded forces and individual misguided strata of the population, who, to our regret, also include some of our intelligentsia.

Take the following fact. Following the objective expose of the activity of the adventurist elements, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee received numerous letters and telegrams expressing support for our principled stance. At the same time some members of the creative and scientific intelligentsia try to whitewash the self-styled "leaders" who prompted an immature section of the population to commit illegal acts, inflamed interethnic dissension, and plunged the republic into anarchy and chaos. It is hard to understand what principles are guiding these comrades.

I think that this is the result of low exactingness toward Communists, primary party organizations, and the leaders of scientific and ideological establishments within the republics.

I want to say quite definitely that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee stance on these questions is unequivocal and principled. The Central Committee Bureau recently made an exacting assessment of the unprincipled stance of individual leaders of the republic's party, soviet, economic, and law-enforcement organs who connived at and in some cases even helped kindle interethnic dissension. A number of party raykom first secretaries, rayispolkom chairmen and leaders of ministries and law-enforcement organs have been issued with strict party reprimands.

We will also continue to resolutely call officials to account—not only those who are whipping up tension through their own irresponsible actions but also those who are passive and indecisive and stand aloof from an uncompromising struggle against everything that is impeding the normalization of the situation in the republic.

Today, comrades, new opportunities are being revealed for carrying out educative and mass political work. The program tasks outlined by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum are being implemented consistently. Concrete steps are being taken to improve the ideological and moral climate in the republic and resolve pressing questions in the socioeconomic and spiritual spheres. A resolution has been adopted on the shutdown of the Armenian AES. A compromise has been found for the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Active use must be made of all these factors in order to improve the situation within the republic and concentrate all our efforts on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake.

Preparations are now under way for elections of USSR people's deputies. The CPSU Central Committee Address "To the Party and To the Soviet People" adopted at the CPSU Central Committee 10 January 1989 Plenum must be the platform for our activity in this sphere. The success of the upcoming campaign is dependent on the level at which our political and organizational work takes place. We do not want to hide the

fact that our party organization has complex and laborious work ahead. Party organizations must do everything to ensure that worthy people are elected to the supreme organ of power, people who are fully committed to the ideals of restructuring and to the fundamental interests of the people and the party, people with a pure heart and lofty designs.

Comrades! The destructive earthquake, the well-known events brought about through the exacerbation of interethnic relations, and the crisis situation in socioeconomic development have put our people and the entire republic to a very grave test. Exceptional determination and selflessness are necessary and all efforts and potential must be totally mobilized to withstand it—moreover, withstand it at a complex and crucial stage of restructuring and democratization. Active and purposeful organizational and political work on the part of party, soviet, economic, and public organizations is needed, as is an increase in the militancy and responsibility of every one of us—from ordinary Communists to leaders. That is the basis for consolidating all the people's efforts on construction and on the renewal of the republic.

Armenian, Azerbaijani Party Officials Meet 31 Jan
NC0302113389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 3 Feb 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] On January 31, the newspaper reports a meeting took place between Lobov and [name indististict], second secretaries of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committees.

During the meeting they discussed the draft plan of [words indistinct] the republican party organizations, which aims to strengthen the [word indistinct] internationalist education and (?to ease) the interethnic (?tension in the region.) The participants in the meeting were received by Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Transcaucasus Appeal Persuades Refugees To Return
LD0602142589 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 28 Jan 89 p 1

[Correspondent T. Aliyev report: "Businesslike Meetings"]

[Text] The appeal by the Communist Party Central Committees, supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia to citizens who have left their places of residence, was welcomed with much enthusiasm in the Nakhichevan ASSR. A number of specific measures are being implemented for normalizing interethnic relations in towns and rayons.

Broad explanatory work is being carried out in the autonomous republic for returning refugees to their permanent residential places and restoring relations with the close participation of party aktivs, labor and war veterans, and production frontrankers. For this purpose, mixed commissions have been set up consisting of leaders of the party, soviet, Komsomol, law enforcement and economic bodies of Ilyich, Ordubad, Shakhbaz, and Babek Rayons of the Nakhichevan ASSR and Ararat, Masis, Azizbekov, Yegeknazor, Sisyan, and Megri Rayons of the Armenian SSR.

Members of the commission hold periodical meetings and resolve questions that arise. With mutual agreement of the party and soviet bodies of both republics a meeting was held at Ilyich Rayon between obkom first secretary G. Isayev and first secretaries of the neighboring Masis, Artashat, and Ararat raykoms. There were businesslike talks about returning the refugees to their places of origin, providing them with normal work and living conditions, and ensuring people's safety. Armenian families that had left the Nakhichevan ASSR have begun to return to their homes.

Recently, representatives of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and first secretaries of Shakhbaz and Ordubad Raykoms were in neighboring Azizbekov, Sisyan, and Megri Rayons of the Armenian SSR. They met with leaders of party and soviet organizations and economic bodies of these rayons, visited villages where Azerbaijanis live, studied their living conditions, and answered questions.

It was planned to hold periodical friendship meetings with the participation of senior Communists, deputies, intellectuals, labor and war veterans, production frontrankers, and internationalist fighters who served in Afghanistan.

Commander Interviewed on Transcaucasus Security
LD0302185589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] As we have reported, a special situation [osoboye polozheniye] is in force in Armenia and Azerbaijan. A curfew has been introduced and military commandant's offices function there. A special region has been set up in the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Agdam Rayon of Azerbaijan. Our correspondent interviewed Col (Dziranov), military commander of a section which encompasses the territory of three rural rayons.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] (Feliks Yosifovich), everyone is concerned at the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan. I would like you to tell me what the situation is now on the territory of your section.

[Dziranov] After the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree and the well known decision the situation has on the whole stablilized in these three rayons. Opposition to or objections to this decree by the local population have

not been noticed. The absolute majority of the population relates with understanding to this decision, and it seems to me that they are doing everything in order to normalize the situation in these rayons.

[Correspondent] I have the feeling that people have simply already grown tired of this extreme stress and tension, that they are simply no longer able to live as they have done during the last few months.

[Dziranov] They are, undoubtedly, tired. After all—and I am confident of this—the overwhelming majority of the population was not interested in these interethnic discords if this is the way to put it. Many understand even before that this would lead only to poor results. And now especially they are beginning to understand this.

[Correspondent] Resettlement is a very sensitive subject. Some 250,000 people in the two republics have uprooted themselves and left their homes. Their life is now unsettled and quite difficult.

[Dziranov] This is perhaps the most complex question which has arisen in connection with interethnic relations. The families, which had for many years been creating their homes, unfortunately left their native places and they retain a cautious approach to further development of events. However, I should say that the absolute majority, in particular in Agdam Rayon, have all been fixed with accommodation. Only a small proportion of them live with relatives. All others have been housed. Many of them have been placed in jobs.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion: would it have been possible to avoid such a mass resettlement of people from one republic to the other?

[Dziranov] It is difficult to say, but it seems to me that it would have been possible if only the leaders of rayons, enterprises, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes had pursued the correct policy in this matter. Evidence of the fact that this could have been avoided is that very same Mardakert Rayon. It is an Armenian Rayon. On the territory of this rayon there are 11 Azerbaijani settlements. And no one left these settlements. Although this is purely my own personal view.

As for the present time, especially in Agdam Rayon and Mir-Bashir Rayon, the local party bodies and local soviets are now raising the question that the people who left should return to their former residences. They are ready to receive them. Security is guaranteed now. We even take them with us, take them there and show them. Once we took an entire bus of people to Mir-Bashir Rayon, to the (Begim-Sharov) inhabited locality, where there is an Azerbaijani population. Indeed people had been living there with one another side by side for years. The feeling of mutual trust and friendship has been retained. We took some 20 Azerbaijanis who had previously lived in (Begim-Sharov). The local population greeted them very amicably. I was even surprised myself because I had heard that they were oppressing one another. They conversed very peacefully. They asked one another, well (?why) did you leave, well, why don't you return. Do move back. [end recording]

Mutalibov Appointed Azerbaijan Presidium Chairman

AU0302144989 Paris AFP in English 1429 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, Feb 3 (AFP)—Azerbaijan's Prime Minister, Gasan Seidov, has retired "for health reasons" and has been replaced by the head of the southern republic's planning agency, Ayaz Mutalibov, according to an Azerbaijani official press report.

The announcement was published in last Saturday's edition of the daily BAKINSKY RABOCHY reaching here on Friday.

An Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry spokesman contacted by AFP said he had "no details" on the move and was unable to confirm that the replacement of Mr. Seidov, 57, was connected to a wave of ethnic unrest which swept through the republic in November and December.

The January 27 edition of BAKINSKY RABOCHY, also reaching here on Friday, said that three Azerbaijanis had each been sentenced to three-year jail terms for theft and possession of firearms in connection with riots in Baku, the Azerbaijan capital, on December 11. [passage omitted]

Decree on New Officials Published

LD0602142489 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 28 Jan 89 p 1

[Excerpt] Decree: The Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet has appointed by decree Comrade Ayz Niyaz ogly Mutalibov chairman of the AzSSR Council of Ministers; S. Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet; and R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the AzSSR Supreme Soviet. [Dated] 27 Jan 89, city of Baku

A.N. Mutalibov was born in 1938. He is a member of the CPSU and a graduate of higher education. He is a mechanical engineer by profession. [passage omitted].

Baku Commandant Announces Prosecutions

NC0302122289 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Notice from Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, Baku City Special District military commandant; date not given]

[Text] Internal affairs organs, in their capacity as the Traffic Control and Regulating Service, are taking measures with regard to those who have violated the 23 November 1988 decree of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the necessary measures to restore public order in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSRs.

Thus, Valeriy Ismailovich Aliyev, superintendent of the technical transport and equipment shop at the Main Transcaucasus Oil Pipelines administration; Guseynbala Guseynbala ogly Shakhmatov, driver of bus number 202 at the No 5 bus depot; and Nagif ogly Nagiyev, teacher at the Arts School, have been detained and made to answer administratively for engaging in activities which rouse national discord and attempting by these means to violate public order.

The USSR Procuracy and internal affairs organs of the republic and the city have detained Rasul Mirza Aleksirov, foreman at the experimental testing plant, for organizing group activities for the purpose of violating public order. These organs have also detained Bakhtyar Azim ogly Shakhirdeyev, unemployed, for rousing national discord. Criminal charges are being brought against them.

The night in the city passed quietly; no violations of public order were noted.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Announcement on Law Violations

LD0602113389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Announcement by the military commandant of Baku City Special District; date of issue not given]

[Text] The situation remains unchanged in the city. It is calm. Nevertheless, cases of law violations have emerged which are being investigated by the military.

According to information from the city Internal Affairs Department, Sabir Mekhnat ogly Binnazov and Zakir Mekhnat ogly Binnazov, workers of [words indistinct], works, were declared responsible for disrupting public order near [words indistinct]. Arman Sergeyevich [word indistinct] and Anatoliy [words indistinct], who are unemployed, Selman Assadulla ogly Guseynov, [words indistinct] and Igor Petrosovich Stepanyan, a metal worker at the [words indistinct] mechanical works were detained by the Narimanov Rayon Internal Affairs Section for disrupting public order near Karabakh Restaurant and were sentenced to 30 (?days) [words indistinct] each.

[Words indistinct] were tried for disrupting public order. Seyfulla Ali ogly Veliyev, a salesman at the Shop No 122 in Azizbekov Rayon, was tried by the Azizbekov Rayon Internal Affairs Section for concealing goods worth R7,902.

In the past 24 hours, no new cases of violation of orders were recorded.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of Baku City Special District.

Bakatin's Azerbaijan Visit Reported in Press

PM0302105189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "To Ensure Proper Order Everywhere"; for further reportage on the visit to Azerbaijan by Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin, see the 23 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 76]

[Text] USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin was in Azerbaijan 18-19 January and visited a number of cities and rayons in the republic.

Comrade Bakatin held a conference with A.I. Mamedov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs, and U.S. Arutyunyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs. They discussed questions of galvanizing collaboration in boosting efforts to eliminate the consequences of mass disturbances in the past, to prevent and solve crimes, to ensure guarantees for citizens' constitutional rights and legitimate interests, and to assist the return of migrants from both republics.

While in Stepanakert, Comrade Bakatin met A.I. Volskiy. They discussed problems concerning the maintenance of public order and the consolidation of discipline and legality in the conditions following the introduction of the special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR. The minister held a conference with the members of the NKAO Internal Affairs Administration leadership and set tasks demanding immediate solution. Thorough attention was given to questions of promptly putting an end to actions by individuals who are striving to fan interethnic dissent and to exacerbate the situation. The need to improve staffers' international education was pointed out.

While in Baku, Comrade Bakatin held a conference with members of the republic's MVD leadership. They analyzed the current situation and the situation as regards crime and heard reports on the activity of leading sector services. The minister defined the basic tasks facing personnel as regards restructuring the style and methods of their activity and drew attention to the fact that it is necessary to enhance by all possible means the effectiveness of party political work and of patriotic and international education. It was pointed out that it is necessary to get rid of people with eroded ideological beliefs who betray the interests of the service, and to rely more broadly on labor collectives and the public. There was talk about the political importance attaching to the earliest possible normalization of the situation, the restoration of order, the provision of assistance to migrants to return to their former places of residence, and the organization of a meaningful life for them. An active and purposeful struggle against corrupt criminals, black economy wheeler-dealers, embezzlers, bribe-takers, and speculators must become the focus for the application of the energy of internal affairs organs.

V.V. Bakatin was received by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. They had a conversation on organizational and practical measures being taken by party and soviet organs, the public, and the forces of law and order to normalize the situation in the republic, impose order, restore social justice, and take to task antirestructuring circles which destabilize the situation and the officials who are their accomplices.

Taking part in the conversation were G.N. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; I.I. Gorelovskiy, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB; and A.I. Mamedov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs.

Academician Views State Languages Issue

LD0202233589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] In recent times, we have been talking a great deal about the problem of interethnic relations. One important aspect of these relations is language. Here is the opinion of candidate of historical sciences Georgiy Trapeznikov, a senior research officer at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee.

[Trapeznikov] In the Baltic area, in Central Asia and in Moldavia, people are asking whether it is essential to have a state language. So do we need a state language? In 1913, in a letter to Stepan Shaumyan, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin wrote that it was shameful to come out in favor of a state language. It was pure police repression. That was Lenin's view on the problem. Some comrades are now saying that that thesis of Lenin's is obsolete, that real life suggests other roads for us to take, that in the three Transcaucasian republics, a state language exists already in the constitutions, that some Baltic republics have adopted that provision in constitutional amendments, and that the problem is extremely important and urgent today.

But let's see how the concept of the state language actually operates in real life. Let's take the Transcaucasian republics as an example. In 1936, Beriya and Stalin dragged into the constitution of the Georgian SSR this item about a state language. Well, a theoretical matter, it would seem, but how would everything turn out in practice? In practice, life immediately showed how painfully that provision about a state language struck at the interests of the Transcaucasian republics' minority peoples, since amendments were simultaneously adopted in the Constitution of Azerbaijan, and later, as you know, the same provision was inserted into the Constitution of Armenia too. In practice, then, it turned out that, in the multinational and even multi-autonomous republic of Georgia, where the Abkhazian SSR exists—and the Abkhazian and Georgian languages are as different from one another as Russian and English are—the adopted amendment began immediately to trample underfoot the interests of the languages of the minority peoples, and their free development. What is more, supported by precisely that provision about a state language, Beriya started to close Abkhazian schools. The Abkhazian written language was abolished. Consequently the teaching and instruction of children in Abkhazian schools came to an end.

Or take the case of the Narorno-Karabakh now that the question has arisen very acutely there. After all, one of the reasons for what happened in Nagorno-Karabakh was the total disregard for the culture and, especially, for the language of the Armenian people. For one class there were just two Armenian-language textbooks. In other words, people were unable to study their native language. That's what the adoption of the state language provision means in practice. Put another way, if a state language is adopted in some large republic, peopled by the representatives of many nations and ethnic groups, the people who are unfamiliar with Lenin's concept of the free and equitable development of the languages of all nations and ethnic groups turn the state language into a stick, as Lenin said, and the native languages of all the minority nations and ethnic groups living in the particular republic are killed off or beaten down with that stick.

[Announcer] Our commentary. Many people will probably object to the idea that a multinational country needs some single language of communication. In fact, though, it is not essential that a Latvian who is about to go to Kirghizia should learn Kirghiz. That's why Russian is called the language for communication between the nationalities. Its difference from a state language seems primarily to lie in the fact that the need for it and the extent to which it is learned are determined by each person for himself, rather than being imposed as something indisputable. This interview expresses just one point of view. There are others, with which Mayak [Moscow Domestic Service] will also acquaint you.

Draft Language Law Published in Latvia

LD0302140489 Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2020 GMT 1 Feb 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] The Latvian SSR draft language law has been published here in Latvia today, and Latvian society will discuss it until 10 April.

The draft law states that, in conformity with the Latvian SSR Constitution, the state language in our republic is the Latvian language, and that citizens, establishments, enterprises, organizations, and their officials have guaranteed rights to use the Latvian language in both speech and writing.

The Russian language in Latvia, side by side with the Latvian language, is one of the means of internationalities communication. The language law will lay down the use of Latvian and other languages in various spheres of state and public activity.

The draft language law envisages that in citizens' contacts with state organs, as well as with establishments, enterprises, and organizations, the citizen chooses the language of communication information, and documents. All workers in organs of state power and administration, in the legal, health protection, trade, public service, transportation, and other branches connected with providing services to people must know and use both Latvian and Russian to the degree necessary for carrying out their professional duties.

The draft envisages that the language law will come into force on 1 January 1990, but in Daugavpils and in Kraslava, Daugavpils, Ludza, and Rezekne Rayons, where there are especially many Russian speakers, the languages law is to be introduced gradually by 1 January 1995.

Lithuanian Decree on Use of State Language
PM0202135189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

["Decree of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Use of the State Language of the Lithuanian SSR"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] Under the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the Lithuanian language is the republic's state language.

With a view to ensuring the development and functioning of the Lithuanian language in state and social life without thereby infringing the non-Lithuanian speaking population's constitutional right to use its native language, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To prescribe that the Lithuanian language, being the state language, shall be the main medium to be used by the republic's population for official contacts. It should be used in the activity of state and public organs, in the spheres of public education, culture, science, production, services, communication, and other spheres of public life, and in all enterprises, institutions, and organizations of the Lithuanian SSR regardless of their departmental subordination (with the exception of the Armed Forces).

2. The Lithuanian SSR supreme organs of state power and administration, ministries, departments, soviets of people's deputies and their ispolkoms, public organizations, enterprises, institutions, and other organizations shall compose official documents and correspondence in Lithuanian.

Enterprises, institutions, and organizations whose official records have hitherto been kept in Russian shall switch to the composition of official documents and correspondence in Lithuanian within 2 years of the date of this decree's entry into force. In individual cases, and subject to valid reasons, this deadline could be extended for enterprises, institutions, and organizations by 1 year, subject to permission from the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, but they must guarantee that other organizations and citizens will be able to address them, resolve issues, and receive documents in Lithuanian.

Correspondence with USSR organs of state power and administration and with other USSR republics, ministries and departments, public organizations, enterprises, institutions, and other organizations located outside the Lithuanian SSR shall be conducted in Russian or in any other language acceptable to both parties.

3. Lithuanian SSR laws, acts of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, resolutions and orders of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and documents issued by public organizations shall be adopted in Lithuanian, shall be published in Lithuanian, and—whenever necessary—shall also be published in Russian.

Resolutions, orders, and other documents issued by ministries, departments, soviets of people's deputies and their ispolkoms, enterprises, institutions, and organizations shall be adopted in Lithuanian. Whenever necessary, they shall be translated into other languages.

4. Events organized in the republic (congresses, sessions, plenums, meetings, sittings, conferences, and so on) shall be conducted in Lithuanian. Non-Lithuanian speakers shall have the right to speak in other languages. Translation into Lithuanian shall be provided in such cases.

5. Lithuanian must be used for all stamps, seals, official stationery, signboards, signs in official premises and signs erected in public places, and the names and specifications of articles manufactured in the republic. Signs and other texts used in the republic in the course of international, all-union, and interrepublic contacts shall be accompanied by translations into Russian.

6. Fluency in Lithuanian shall be mandatory for leaders and other leadership officials of the Lithuanian SSR supreme organs of state power and administration, ministries, departments, soviets of people's deputies and their ispolkoms, public organizations, enterprises, institutions, and other organizations in the republic.

Leaders of people's courts, state notarial offices, prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs, institutions in health care, social security, trade, consumer services for the population, transport, communications, financial services, housing, and other institutions in constant contact with the population must ensure that the institutions they lead shall provide services to the population in Lithuanian and, whenever necessary, in any other language acceptable to both parties.

7. Conditions must be created for the Lithuanian SSR's population to be taught Lithuanian and to obtain general secondary, vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher education in Lithuanian. With a view to

ensuring active participation by members of the non-Lithuanian-speaking population in the republic's state, public, and cultural life, and so as to enable them to study in Lithuanian SSR VUZ's, conditions must be created for serious study of the Lithuanian language in educational institutions which do not teach in Lithuanian, as well as on specialized courses.

8. Should members of the republic's non-Lithuanian-speaking population so wish, proper conditions shall be created for the organization of children's preschool institutions, lessons, and general education schools, the training of educators and teachers for them, and the publication of books and newspapers in their native language, as well as for the establishment of language and culture societies, clubs, museums, theaters, and ensembles.

Children's preschool institutions, schools, and cultural organizations created for the non-Lithuanian-speaking population may use their own language for their own internal records.

9. It is incumbent on Lithuanian SSR state organs to ensure enhancement of the prestige of correctly spoken Lithuanian and the preservation of Lithuanian personal and topographical names, as well as the utmost support for Lithuanian language institutions and the creation of the material base necessary for its development and study and the expansion of its functions. At the same time, it is necessary to create conditions for the development of the culture of other languages used in the republic.

The Lithuanian SSR shall promote the learning and study of Lithuanian outside the republic's borders.

10. Responsibility for the implementation of this decree in ministries, departments, soviets of people's deputies and their ispolkoms, enterprises, institutions, and organizations shall be borne directly by their leaders.

The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers shall monitor the progress of the implementation of this decree in the republic.

The preparation and implementation of measures for the implementation of this decree are hereby assigned to the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Y. Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vilnius, 25 January 1989.

Nationalities Representatives Meet in Vilnius

LD0202120289 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] A conference of the representatives of national-democratic movements of the USSR nationalities took place in Vilnius last weekend. Representatives from Armenia, Georgia, the Crimean Tartar, Belorussian, Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian radical public movements participated at the conference; about 40 representatives attended. The official mass media did not report the event. According to a participant it took place in a private house. No one tried to prevent the conference. ' Lithuania was represented by the Lithuanian Liberty League, the Lithuanian National Youth Union, the Committee for Liberation of Political Prisoners, and activists from the Helsinki group.

Several documents were adopted at the conference. One of them is an appeal to the Russian intelligentsia. The main document is entitled: The Charter of Freedom of the USSR Enslaved Nations; in which the participants of the conference appeal to the world's governments and nations asking for help in the campaign for national liberation.

A coordination center was set up at the Vilnius conference which will be in charge to convene another conference of the same type in Estonia. The first—but not as large—conference of the radical movements' representatives took place last autumn in the Ukrainian city of Lvov.

Lithuanian Educators Discuss Reform Goals

LD0302142089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 15 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview by TIESA correspondent Bernardas Saknys with Lithuanian delegates to the All-Union Education Congress, Ceslovas Serksnas, Algirdas Pauliukonis, Romualdas Lengvinas, Irena Kacinskiene, and Egle Tutiniene, entitled, "Lithuanian Delegates for National Education," under the rubric, "As the All-Union Education Congress Approaches." Date and place not given.]

[Text] **Sixty-eight Lithuanian delegates will depart, on 18 December, to attend the All-Union Education Congress. A TIESA correspondent interviewed several among them.**

(Ceslovas Serksnas, director, Lazdijai Middle School) The teachers who have elected me as a delegate to the All-Union Educator's Forum, have placed me in charge of defending the national school concept. The draft for this concept appeared in the December issue of TARYBINIS MOKYTOJAS.

What do Lithuania's educators propose? A totally new education model, indeed. It repudiates those principles of centralization and unification, which the USSR Education Committee, ignoring traditions and national culture needs, wishes to consolidate. During the past

decades, Soviet education, in general, has become dehumanized, undemocratic and lacking in instillment of strong moral principles. The relationship which exists with national culture is spontaneous, rather than deliberate. Little is being done to help youth form national consciousness.

The public education concept, prepared by Lithuanian educators, gives priority consideration to the individual. I would like to quote from one statute of the aforementioned document: "Every individual constitutes a unique autonomous value, owing certain duties to its socialist country, nation, and himself, and therefore he simply cannot exist as but a small screw in some one else's hand. He is an individual, choosing his place in society voluntarily and without coercion—such is his right."

This entire concept is based on humanism, providing sensitive attention to the student and his interests. A correct path through national culture consists of acquainting students with national and universal as well as moral and spiritual values.

In my estimation, the proposal for the new educational structure is well-founded; it includes the following: 4 6 2. The first level—4 years elementary, 2d level—6 years. These two levels make up the basic school system. The 3d level—2 years. The basic course is compulsory for all Lithuanian SSR citizens up to the age of 16. It is compulsory with regard to age, but not according to certain level completion. In the event a student fails to complete the basic course within that time period, he may begin work at an enterprise and decide for himself whether to complete the basic course at a later date (as part-time or external student), or not to complete it at all.

This will remove the compulsory onus from a student's shoulders and allow the teacher to flex his wings at creativity.

(Algirdas Pauliukonis, director, Vilnius Professional Polytechnical School No 4) I approve of the new public education concept, which has been formulated by Lithuanian educators.

Up to the present, professional schools did not have anything specifically their own. The various plans and course presentations were planned for all regional areas without investigating whether they had any relevance to our republic.

A professional school (I think we will even find a nicer name for it) needs to be national and must continue the moral and spiritual principles begun in the middle school general course.

(Romualdas Legvinas, director, Kedainiai Rayon, Dotnuva Academy, middle school) In the new Lithuanian SSR draft for public education in the middle schools, special attention is given to the family. It states: "Parents, especially mothers, are the first awakeners of an infant's spirit; family surroundings constitute his first contact with the outside world. The further upbringing of a child is based on principles existing within the family." It stresses very correctly the fact that children's opposition to their parents, be it ideological or moral, should not be tolerated, since it is detrimental to a child's morality. This statute forces us to re-evaluate many education criteria and to renounce lies and two-facedness.

The new education model, prepared by our educators, reflects the national spirit, since all school education is based on national education experience. The school will educate the child as a conscious citizen of his nation and country, a supporter and propagator of national culture and its customs and traditions. Such a school will become a true house of light and truth, and a place which truly cherishes internationalism. I sense that the principles of our newly-designed national school, will not be well-received by central union departments. It is a pity, the pedagogical experts are opposing it without even having examined our concept. Why? What are their motives? A republic itself should be responsible for the education of its people. That is why our delegation will have to be united in its defence of the Lithuanian education's future.

(Irena Kacinskiene, USSR public school teacher, Panevezys Middle School No 7) We are going there in order to share that which we have been able to create during the brief period of restructuring. After all, the national education spirit was continued to live in the heart of every decent pedagogue. In some areas it was less vivid than in others, but it had never died.

The basic statute of our education is to teach children to love Lithuania, its people, nature and its past, and also to teach everything that relates to this concept. Excellent opportunities have opened up for seeking this goal. One would wish that literature, which had been hidden from Lithuanians, until now, would return even faster. Our children know little about J. Tysliava, B. Brazdzionis, Kirsa, L. Dovydenas, M. Katiliskis, A. Skema and many others, who had created significant works, in which the spirit of our nation is alive, and which contain inexaustible treasures of goodness and spirituality.

I trust that other republics of our country will bring to Moscow their own educational concepts, reflecting some of the characteristics which are only unique for them. The type of uniformity within the educational system, which has prevailed up to the present time, is harmful.

I see before me a bright perspective for daily living and work.

(Egle Tutiniene, teacher, Kelme Middle School No 3) The draft of the education concept, which has been prepared by the Lithuanian educators, constitutes a document of significance. Its ratification is the duty of

our nation and the concern of people living and working in Lithuania. This truth should be understood by the USSR Public School Education Committee and other central departments. We are going to begin our national education.

I would say, the most valuable historical characteristic of the Lithuanian education concept is a teacher's liberation from the captivity of bureaucracy. A free teacher will train a good individual.

Problems of Georgia's Exiled Meskhetians Viewed

PM0202153389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents B. Reznik and T. Chanturiya: "Arriving Hopefully, Receiving Kindly; On the Ancient and Present Problems of a Small Ethnic Group"]

[Text] Georgian SSR—Today is a time of restoration of justice both with regard to individual people and with regard to whole peoples who have felt in the full sense of the word the hand of Stalinism, swift to effect reprisal. They include the population of the southwest regions of Georgia, a territory which has long been called Meskhetia.

Back in 1956 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium lifted a number of restrictions, retaining one single but very important stipulation: The Meskhetians did not have the right to return to the places from which they had been exiled. Later this restriction was also lifted. But, after all, only problems are created easily, years and decades are sometimes needed for their practical solution...

Chakho Chitadze, machinegunner in an infantry platoon, received three serious wounds at the front. A fourth wound, which smarts to this day and gives him no rest, was inflicted on him in his native village of Vali, Akhaltsikhskiy Rayon, 3 months after his return from the war. Chakho did not know at the time that on that night in November 1944 NKVD subunits surrounded not only his settlement but also 220 population centers in Meskhetia and on an order from their leader, with whose name he had gone into battle, they put out the fires, and deprived over 110,000 people of "Muslim faith" of their native land and shelter.

Supporting his sick father—an old Bolshevik and revolutionary—Chakho clambered up the dry embankment into the "cattle" truck and tormented a young soldier from the convoy, a young soldier like himself, with the heart-rending question "Why?"

Two months in the cold, without hot food, brought them to Central Asia, to a special settlement. His father died on the journey. Many people were buried then during the brief stops in the frozen fields.

People who to this day, 45 years later, call themselves Meskhetians, were scattered over south Kazakhstan and the northern part of Central Asia, over Kabardino-Balkaria and Azerbaijan... For nearly 10 years they were obliged to perform a humiliating duty: Twice a month they had to register at the special commandant's offices, to feel guilty with absolutely no idea of what they were guilty of. Soldiers' widows, children, and parents, and indeed yesterday's defenders of the motherland themselves, became the victims of manic delirium—when Turkey enters the war they will go over to the camp of its accomplices! The perpetrators of this act of tyranny consigned whole peoples to the ranks of "traitors" wholesale, in passing, on the off chance.

"We believed we would return to our native Georgia! We believed this in the hardest times and prepared for it," Chakho says.

Before the war itself he had graduated from a pedagogical academy and in Samarkand Oblast—the place of his administrative exile—he organized the Shota Rustaveli school and taught the Meskhetians' children the Georgian language.

We met with Chakho Chitadze in his spacious house in the village of Akhalsheni—the word means "new building" in Russian—in Tsulukidzevskiy Rayon, Georgian SSR. There are another 45 two-storey individual houses like his with outbuildings and garden plots constructed here by the local authorities for Meskhetians who have returned to the republic.

"They welcomed us like brothers, gave us these fine houses, and provided us with work," Chakho presses his hands to his chest in gratitude. "We should be pleased with life! But, you know, my heart yearns for Meskhetia—after all, our roots are there..."

... Snow-covered mountains in ravines of clouds, the seething Kura, canyons, and creek valleys—that is how Meskhetia, the southwestern part of Georgia, appeared to us. Scarcely have you arrived here before you are involved in the main local concern—the shortage of fertile arable land. And this strictly economic factor creates dramatic social and moral conflicts.

Before they were forcibly resettled in that year of the war, 169,700 people lived in Meskhetia. Peasants from mountain regions of Georgia which had little land and were hard to reach were driven just as forcibly to take their place. In postwar years the population here, naturally, increased—about 191,000 people already live in Meskhetia's five rayons and there is scarcely 0.13 hectares of arable land for each of them. Hence a problem which is difficult to resolve: Where are the tens of thousands of Meskhetians anxious to return to the land of their ancestors to settle, how are they to be fed, and where are they to work? After all, the majority engage in peasant labor.

Today, according to the statistics of the Georgian State Committee for Labor, from just two rayons of Meskhetia—Akhalkalakskiy and Bogdanovskiy Rayons—over 5,000 people are obliged to travel beyond the republic every year "for a worthwhile job."

We will not keep quiet about the fact that we heard what were, it is true, rare, but absolutely unacceptable and unfair proposals: Let those who were brought in go where we are now. The majority of Meskhetians with whom we talked sharply and angrily reject this position. Surely the people now living in Meskhetia are not guilty of anything? After all, for at least two generations of settlers this is also their native land! This acquisition would be a bitter one if its price was the misfortune and misery of others.

The solution of the Meskhetian problem requires wisdom, far-sightedness, tact, and good will on the part of Georgia's party committees and local soviets. The people against whom an act of tyranny was perpetrated must be politically and morally rehabilitated, that is clear. Here, of course, in no circumstances should a reduction of their economic status or a deterioration in the living conditions and daily existence of the people living here be allowed. The republic's authorities must determine in a considered and responsible way how many Meskhetian families they can provide with housing and work directly in the rayons of Meskhetia now and in the immediate and distant future. All this will naturally require the development of the social infrastructure and the creation of new production facilities....

Today, to give them their due, much is being done to welcome the Meskhetians with kindness and respect in other rayons of the republic where the economic and social opportunities for this exist. Until recently 20 such rayons had been specified. The Georgian SSR Gosplan, Gosagroprom, and State Committee for Labor recently suggested to the republic's Council of Ministers that the acceptance of Meskhetians for permanent residence be organized in a further 20 rayons of Western and Eastern Georgia.

How are people being provided with amenities? We visited virtually all settlements where Meskhetians have moved. Nowhere did we hear complaints about housing and daily living conditions or the lack of work. Good and truly fraternal relations are taking shape with the local inhabitants. Meskhetian Ya. Suleymanov from Nasakirali settlement, Makharadzevskiy Rayon, told us how he competed with the local historian Iosif Nakaidze for a postgraduate studentship. Both got top marks in their examinations and they had to wait to see who the acceptance commission would prefer. Iosfi gathered up his documents and said:

"You study, friend, I will try to get in next year..."

A provision has been adopted in Georgia whereby the children of Meskhetians enter vuzes and technical college on a privileged basis, without competing.

"Last fall we were invited to the party raykom and told: Here are nine warrants for VUZ study for your children. In our village we could only find four who wanted to continue their studies," Bakhatyr Matanov from Tsramukha village, Khashurskiy Rayon, said.

The Matanov family returned to Georgia 4 years ago. Bakhatyr works as an engineer at the repair and ball bearing plant, his two daughters are music teachers, and his wife is a teacher, who retired recently.

We asked the Matanovs if they wanted to move to Meskhetia.

"No," Bakhatyr answered for them all. "We are wonderfully settled here, we need nothing better. Of course, we would like to visit Meskhetia more often, but how many obstacles have been created..."

Indeed, you cannot travel to Meskhetia without formalities to visit your relatives' graves or look at places you hold dear. Many Meskhetians mentioned this bitterly. The point is that there is a border zone there. To go there you need an invitation, and if there is no one to send it then you are destined not to go.

A strange situation: Traveling abroad has been greatly simplified, but traveling near the border? How many problems could be removed together with the barrier barring entrance to Meskhetia! We are sure that our border guards have sufficient professional skill to safeguard the security of the border and not such a long way from it.

The Meskhetians also have other problems, some of which only they can resolve, and in other cases rapid and specific aid is needed.

During meetings in many settlements, for instance, anger was expressed to us over the mass media, including our newspaper, which call those who originate from Meskhetia Meskhetian Turks, Soviet, or Caucasian Turks.

"We are Georgian Meskhetians, our ancestors were forced to accept Islam in the 16th and 17th centuries when Meskhetia was attacked and siezed by the Turks," we were firmly told by Marat Baratashvili, a scientific staffer at the Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti historical museum, himself a returned Meskhetian, and he cited highly authoritative scientific sources, insisting that we should publish them without fail.

But we also know something else: Many Meskhetians consider themselves to be of Turkish nationality. We think no one should act as the arbiter in this dispute.

Each person has the right to determine for himself his own roots and nationality, but often, unfortunately, this right is infringed by old circulars. We met with many examples of this.

The Khozrevanidze family, exiled to Samarkand Oblast, were turned into the Aslanovs—from the name of the father—at the special commandant's office there. The explanation was: "We did not send Georgians into exile."

Nationality was recorded quite arbitrarily in the new documents. As a result of these arbitrary decisions, the result for Amirkhan Iskandarov, a pedagogical institute student, for instance, has been that he has been registered as a Turk in his Russian-language passport and as a Kurd in his Georgian passport while both his parents consider themselves to be Georgians but figure as Azerbaijanis in their documents. This is not an irritating misunderstanding—it is almost the rule. Makhaddin Eyubov from Ianeti village showed us his military card—according to the card he is an Azerbaijani but according to his passport he is a Turk. His five children have been assigned to the most diverse nationalities.

It is not hard to imagine the life of people who recognize themselves as the sons and daughters of one people when heartless bureaucrats have written absolutely different nationalities in their documents.

The Meskhetians from Georgia have to go through a long series of ordeals to restore their Georgian family names and nationality. In the republic's MVD organs these difficulties are justified by a phrase from "the provision on the passport system in the USSR," approved in 1974, which states that once recorded "the entry on nationality cannot subsequently be changed."

The unfairness of this formulation is obvious to everyone. Perhaps the repeal of the old circulars which poison people's lives will be a specific step on the path toward creating a rule-of-law socialist state?

Among the nationalities problems which have arisen, accumulated, and not met with a solution there is this problem—the problem of the Meskhetians forcibly exiled from their land. They are now waiting with trust and hope for the restoration of justice.

'No Destructions' After Tremors in Tajikistan

LD0402130489 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Test] Dushanbe February 4 TASS—Another earth tremor occurred in the area of the recent Gissar earthquake, in the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan, at 16.41, Moscow time, on February 3. According to the Dushanbe seismic station, the epicenter of the tremor was 25 km south-west of the capital of the republic. It reached 4 points on the 12-point scale. In Gissar it reached 2-3 points.

On the same day, at 17.12, a tremor reaching 2-3 points was repeated in the same epicenter. Another two tremors happened today at 00.32 and 00.35 in the area of the Gissar earthquake. Its magnitude was 4 points in the epicenter and 2-3 points in Gissar.

There were no destructions.

Medvedev Attends Ideology Conference 3-4 Feb

PM0502164089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference of chiefs of the ideology departments of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, and a number of gorkoms and leaders of central mass information organs and ideological institutions and departments was held at the CPSU Central Committee 3-4 February, to discuss topical problems of ideological work at the present stage of restructuring.

The conference opened with an introductory speech by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Commission.

A report was delivered at the conference by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department.

An exchange of opinions took place at the conference on a wide range of questions concerning further increasing the role and significance of the ideological factor in the implementation of the party's program of revolutionary transformations. It was noted that restructuring is putting down increasingly deep roots in our life and being incorporated in substantial changes and new forms of organization in the country's socioeconomic and political life. Economic reform is deepening and has now reached the most important and crucial milestone, involving a change in production relations and, first and foremost, ownership relations and the broad introduction of full economic accountability, the contract, the lease system, and cooperation—relations that rule out leveling and dependence and ensure a direct link between working people's incomes and the real results of their labor.

The reform of the political system is under way. The elections of people's deputies are taking place on the basis of broad democratic processes and with a real expression of will on the part of the working people. The profound transformations in the country are stimulating economic and sociopolitical processes in social consciousness and real life.

The new political thinking and the new way of acting are increasingly becoming woven into the fabric of the social organism and affecting the interests of every individual. This generates an upsurge in social activeness, but at the same time gives rise to contradictory processes in the social consciousness, processes that take the form of ethnic, group, and corporate egotism, extremes in evaluating the historical past, present-day realities, and the prospects for the country's further development, and the emergence of demagogic and extremist views incompatible with the principles and ideals of socialism. All this, the speakers noted, makes it necessary to make substantial adjustments to the forms and methods of ideological work.

The conference participants stressed that the meeting with figures in science and culture held at the CPSU Central Committee on 6 January was of exceptional significance for the clear definition of ideological positions, the rallying of forces on the platform of restructuring, the further development of democracy and glasnost on the basis of the rebirth of the Leninist concept of socialism and pluralism of opinions, and the achievement of a decisive turn toward constructive processes and actions.

At the conference attention was drawn to the fact that an important area of ideological activity is the preparation for major political events in the country's life—the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies and the CPSU Central Committee Plenums on questions of agrarian policy and ethnic relations. Restructuring's tasks today require energetic, practical actions in the ideological sphere. Political propaganda and day-to-day explanatory work with people should be based on the principles of realism and take into account the difficulties that exist in the economy and the sphere of culture and daily life. Ideological cadres are called upon to step up ideological education work in labor and study collectives and at the population's places of residence, to do away with dogmatism, ritualism, and stereotypes, and to ensure assertive party propaganda and agitation in work with various social formations.

The new ideological situation, it was stressed at the conference, also requires a considerable strengthening of analytical and predictive principles in educational work, comprehensive consideration of public opinion, and nonstereotyped approaches to organizing the Marxist-Leninist education of working people and the educational process in secondary and higher educational establishments. Political work cannot come up to present-day requirements without the training of new ideological cadres and social scientists and the retraining of existing ones.

Problems of increasing the effectiveness of the work of the mass media were touched on. It was noted that the press, radio, and television are doing much to develop democratization and glasnost. At the same time some party, soviet, and economic workers preserve vestiges of the old attitude to the media that grew up in the period when they were rigidly controlled and regulated. Without lowering the level of criticism, we must now deepen the creative, constructive, and organizational work of the press, ensure socialist pluralism of opinions and views in practice, and focus the journalistic quest first and foremost on those processes and phenomena on whose resolution the outcome of restructuring chiefly depends.

In the course of the exchange of opinions particular attention was devoted to increasing the role and significance of socialist ideals and values in restructuring and to improving ethnic relations. Many speeches raised urgent questions of strengthening the material and technical base of ideological institutions, the press, radio, and television and proposed that the best experience of ideological work be generalized and disseminated more promptly and that party committees and the aktiv be given guidance in good time.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: Ideology Department chiefs L.M. Kravchuk of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, G.I. Barinova of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, V.G. Lordkipanidze of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, V.M. Matushkin of Moscow CPSU Obkom, A.A. Ustinov of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and A.Ya. Gruduls of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.I. Ryzhov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department and secretary of the Central Electoral Commission; and Sh.S. Ziyamov, chief of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department.

The conference participants studied the work of the Central Electoral Commission and visited a number of central ideological and scientific institutions and newspaper editorial offices, where there were fruitful discussions of topical problems of restructuring.

Zaykov, Ryzhkov Tour Troubled Industrial Plant

PM0302130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Reviving Moscow Trademark's Reputation"]

[Text] The contribution of Moscow and its mighty industrial complex to the radical restructuring of the Soviet economy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is growing steadily. However, the capital's Communists and working people rightly believe that more could be done to achieve better work results. This idea was voiced in the report at the 27th Moscow City Party Conference and in delegates' speeches.

Some of the capital's enterprises are being modernized slowly and inconsistently. A number of ministries, often located only a few kilometers from a particular production unit, are primarily to blame for this. The conference named several USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry plants among the enterprises that have escaped departmental attention.

Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and L.N. Zaykov were acquainted in detail 2 February with the situation at one of these plants—the Vladimir Ilyich Plant. They visited a number of the enterprise's production blocks, workshops, and laboratories. The plant, founded almost 150 years ago, is one of the country's leading manufacturers of low-voltage electric motors and certain types of electrical assemblies. Output bearing this Moscow enterprise's stamp is used extensively in chemical, metallurgical, mining, and other sectors of industry and also in agriculture and construction. The annual volume of production here is considerable—consumer goods account for approximately R10 million. That includes the small "Mini" washing machine, for which there is limitless demand.

During thorough conversations with workers, engineers, and designers and at a meeting with the enterprise's party and economic aktiv, ways to draw the collective out of the protracted crisis were discussed. This crisis has long been imminent: Equipment and capital stocks have become outmoded, production's labor-intensiveness has increased, and demand for the plant's output has correspondingly decreased. This situation became particularly intolerable under conditions of radical economic reform.

The enterprise's leaders cannot complain of lack of attention from party and soviet organs to the critical situation that has taken shape. This situation has been examined twice at sessions of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Moscow Gorispolkom. A comprehensive program for retooling production was elaborated and Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry Communists were given the appropriate instructions. But, as V.T. Lyapin, milling machine operator and chairman of the Vladimir Ilyich Plant's labor collective council, rightly pointed out at the city party conference, the enterprise's reconstruction is still proceeding with difficulty.

Many workers told N.I. Ryzhkov and L.N. Zaykov about this using concrete examples from their own production facilities. Obviously, the main reason for this situation is the insufficiently profound and consistent technical policy of the plant's leadership and the sector ministry.

The labor collective, which carefully preserves its glorious traditions, does not want to resign itself to the situation that has taken shape especially since, it was pointed out at a meeting with the aktiv, the plant has every opportunity for radical renewal. More than 1,200 Communists—that is the great force that has embarked on the work of restructuring production, introducing progressive forms of labor organization, and bringing the principles of economic accountability [khozraschet] to every workplace. Practice has shown that the scientific and engineering center that has been set up here can resolve complex design, technological, and research tasks and introduce progressive developments promptly into series production.

The matter depends on the practical implementation of the reconstruction program. This includes constructing new modern blocks and mastering the manufacture of technological laser equipment and electron accelerator lines. This ecologically pure output is to replace the obsolescent articles that were manufactured here for decades to the detriment of the clean environment of adjacent rayons. The volume of production is scheduled to virtually quadruple by 1995 as a result of the steps being implemented.

It is characteristic that this is above all a qualitative increase. The plant's "Progress-95" comprehensive program provides for the manufacture of output that really accords with the highest demands and can consequently compete on the world market. Expanding the production of consumer goods that are in great demand is the priority task.

What is hampering the implementation of this program? This was discussed keenly and exactingly in conversations with plant workers.

While noting the vigor with which the enterprise's administration has embarked on ridding itself of everything that does not correspond with today's level of highly-developed production, one cannot fail to see that many technical questions are being resolved in haste and without the requisite technical and economic grounding. The lack of a single general plan for the enterprise's retooling and, so to speak, for the ideology of reconstruction, has placed the collective in a difficult economic position.

For instance, the collective does not support the proposed discontinuation of the production of washing machines that are in short supply and for which there is unlimited demand among the population; nor can the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom agree to this.

Old unserviceable blocks have been pulled down. And that is right. At the same time new workshops are being constructed in direct proximity to areas of housing. This is alarming the inhabitants. Neither the plant leadership nor the rayispolkom have carried out any explanatory work. However, the production unit that is being set up here will be modern and consequently its effect on the environment will be much less than the maximum permissible concentration.

Great principledness from the labor collective council is needed in resolving these and a number of equally topical questions and the Moskvoretskiy party Raykom and Rayispolkom should exercise stricter control over the reconstruction of the capital's illustrious plant.

Summing up the results of the conference, L.N. Zaykov stressed that the meetings and conversations with workers in workshops showed what a tremendous potential the plant has and what remarkable people work there. They are religiously preserving the glorious revolutionary traditions of Moscow's working class. Communists, the labor collective, and Moscow's construction workers are faced with the major task of doing their utmost to reduce the reconstruction period, mastering more rapidly the manufacture of progressive output, and preventing a drop in consumer goods production. Reconstruction requires everyone involved in production—from the director to the worker—to be the master of his trade, to see the future, and to act skillfully under conditions of economic accountability.

N.I. Ryzhkov, who spoke at the meeting of the party and economic aktiv, said:

Today we saw for ourselves that an essentially new enterprise, a new plant, is arising on the site of the old buildings. The scale of the task also determines people's attitude to it. The collective is not afraid of temporary difficulties and is confidently overcoming them. This attests to its maturity.

The workers at the illustrious plant realize that after a short while they will have workshops equipped with the latest word in technology. Hence their faith in the end results of reconstruction and the vigor with which the plant workers have embarked on it. The enterprise will be offered the requisite aid in this large-scale work.

The plant, N.I. Ryzhkov went on to point out, is moving on to qualitatively new realms of scientific and technical progress. Extremely promising priority areas have been chosen for it. Everything must be done to ensure that reconstruction produces concrete results as soon as possible.

The social reorientation of the economy demands that particular attention be paid to consumer goods production and to improving the quality of these goods. The updated Vladimir Ilyich plant can and must do a great deal in this area.

The enterprise's future is being born today. In this connection a clear program for the collective's social development must be outlined, linking it with the rates of improvement in and growth of production. Comprehensive solutions must be found to the problems of radical reconstruction.

The following took part in examining the question: I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Machine Building Bureau; and O.G. Anfimov, USSR minister of the electrical equipment industry.

N.I. Ryzhkov and L.N. Zaykov laid flowers at the memorial to V.I. Lenin at the main entrance to the plant. A conversation with Muscovites took place there.

TV Shows Leaders With Workers

LD0302140089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report entitled: "Reconstruction of the Vladimir Ilyich Works—Problems and Solutions" by correspondents S. Slipchenko and K. Krutov—recorded; correspondents not individually identified]

[Text] [Correspondent] This is how the factory people will see the Vladimir Ilyich Works and the square in front of it in the future. However, it is true that this model, which has been well-constructed by craftsmen, has not yet been approved by the Main Architectural Planning Directorate. [video shows model of reconstructed works]

However, one only has to pass through the entrance hall and this picture presents itself to one's eyes. [video shows large cleared site with little evidence of building work in progress] The reconstruction of the works began in 1984. To date, 50 percent of the production area has been torn down and taken completely out of operation. [video switches to show a group of workers being addressed by an unidentified speaker from offscreen]

[Speaker] If the reconstruction goes on for another 3-4 years, will you stay here or will you all be dispersed around other enterprises?

[First worker] We will be dispersed.

[Second worker] We are not proud of this work.

[First worker] No, it is no good. There are no earnings, and in general, there is nothing. There are no incentives.

[Correspondent] However, everything is not as hopeless as these workers say. For instance, a new building has been constructed, and from its windows apartment blocks are visible. This part of the collective has its own opinion on this score, as well, and it is a justified opinion. [video shows empty interior of new building with view through window showing apartment blocks, then returns to group of workers]

[Worker] These walls, which could have been producing profit and in which people should have been working, have stood before us as dead capital for 3 years. How, then, will people look upon this reconstruction in the

future? How long can you look at it? How long can people be told that we are carrying reconstruction? In my opinion, they are using this reconstruction simply to conceal disorder.

[Correspondent] Such is the history of the workshop. It was thought that the builders would be late, but the Main Moscow Industrial Construction Directorate has fulfilled its commitments, yet here stands the workshop empty. There is no equipment for it.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov made a detailed tour of the Vladimir Ilyich Works today. [video shows Ryzhkov, Zaykov, Silayev, and others touring the site] They went around all the workshops—the old and the new, the promising production units and those where initiative is still bogged down—without any concealment. There are many conversations with workers in these workshops, and it emerged that although we talk a lot about democracy and self-management, we are as yet unable to apply them for the good of all. The works has only just mastered the production of a model of washing machine that is in short supply, but already there are new plans. [video shows Ryzhkov inspecting washing machine, then switches to show Zaykov conversing with workers]

[Zaykov] But I, for instance, think the opposite. Do you have a work collective council?

[First female worker] Yes.

[Zaykov] Did they consult you over the fact that they are making handover? Two people simply signed. Here, I have the minutes. Are you aware of this? [video shows Zaykov bringing paper out of inside pocket]

[First female worker] Yes, we were told.

[Zaykov] Do you agree?

[First female worker] Was it this machine?

[Zaykov] No, it was a new machine.

[First female worker] A new one?

[Zaykov] Here, your director signed back in December that he would be handing over this machine...

[Second female worker, interrupting] We only heard of that.

[Zaykov, continuing]...to another town.

[Second female worker] [passage indistinct]

[Zaykov] And just look at your work collective council! [passage indistinct] Here, I have it! [video shows him getting paper from pocket again and showing it to workers] I am saying that one cannot work in this fashion now, dear comrades, when the work collective council operations by itself and the two directors operate by themselves.

[Correspondent] Consumer goods are now a prime necessity. After all, the increase in incomes last year considerably outstripped the increase in labor productivity. That is why there is nothing on the counters. The Vladimir ILyich works has been producing electrical engineering equipment and motors. Now a new era is being created. Laser and other hi-tech equipment now can be seen in the laboratories. The course of aiming at hi-tech products has been chosen correctly; but there is a need for patience and pertinacity. [video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov viewing equipment and instruments] Equipment without people and without collective will never produce an effect. This was spoken of at the final meeting which was already beyond the works entrance hall. [video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov talking to workers outside works entrance]

[First woman] How many years will the reconstruction take? Will it be finished in about 3 years?

[Ryzhkov] It will take another 5 years.

[Unidentified male voice offscreen] I was told that it will be completed in the main by 1992.

[Ryzhkov] The year 1992 will witness the completion of the first stage, but it will take until 1994 before it is fully completed. It needs to be put into operation in parts, first one workshop, then a second, then a third. No one puts all the workshops into operation at once. I have been pleased by the workers.

[Second woman] Of course, in such conditions...

[Ryzhkov interrupting] In such conditions. You know, I am a factory man myself. I worked at a factory for 25 years. So, as they say, I know all these matters not by hearsay, but in actuality. As I was just saying, comrades, it is the maturity of this collective and the maturity of the collective of this works that pleases me very much.

[Correspondent] Today, too, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov laid flowers at the memorial site outside the Vladimir Ilyich Works. [video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov by monument]

Procuracy Worker Speaks on Corruption Inquiry

LD0502114189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0030 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] The USSR Procuracy has checked into the compliance of USSR State Committee for Statistics offices with legislation to control the authenticity of report-back

data and combat the defrauding of the state. Here is what Aleksandr Mikhailovich Khvalin, a responsible worker of the Procuracy, told our correspondent, Anatoliy Fedorov.

[Begin recording] [Khvalin] I have to say that this is the first time in recent years that we have checked into the state statistics bodies. It has emerged that many of them, especially at the local level, have been making unsatisfactory use of the authority granted them under the law to combat defrauding the state. They frequently avoided conducting in-depth verification of the authenticity of report-back data. In a number of areas, they had a compromising attitude toward falsification of accounts and on occasion also indulged it, concealing over-accounting in state reporting.

For example, in individual cases in Ivanovo Oblast, state statistics workers themselves urged economic leaders to include in the reports facilities received with imperfections. Criminal charges have been brought against state statistics workers in the Tajik SSR for concealing inflated accounting and pilfering of state property. Sometimes even management work in these bodies was entrusted to unscrupulous persons who not only failed to conduct a principled battle against falsification of accounts but themselves embarked on the road of misappropriating socialist property. In the Namangan Oblast of the Uzbek SSR, a case is now being investigated of a criminal group which was headed by the head of the Chust Rayon inspectorate of the state statistical services [gosstatistika]. On verification in the Kirghiz, Kazakh, and Ukrainian Union Republics and a number of oblasts in the RSFSR, formalistic attitudes on the part of these bodies have been uncovered toward responding to facts of defrauding the state. Many of them did not even seek the insertion of the necessary corrections into reports. An overall weakening throughout the entire system should also be noted in control over compliance with instructions from other state bodies to exclude defective goods and inflated accounts of the volume of construction work from reports. According to figures from the USSR State Committee for Standards alone, 583 economic sanctions to exclude defective goods to the sum of more than R30 million from reports were not met in 1988.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Mikhailovich, so how is the question of charges against specific officials at fault raised by the state statistics bodies at the local level as they uncover all these violations and abuses?

[Khvalin] During the checks, the impression developed that state statistics workers in, for example, the Ukraine, were reluctant to examine the issue of the accountability of those guilty of inflated accounting in every instance. Thus, in March last year, at the Ivano-Frankovsk knitwear and the Kolomyya cotton factories, the republican committee uncovered grave defrauding of the state, as well as illegal payments of bonuses to management staff. In spite of the obvious violations, the issue of punishing the offenders by depriving them of any kind of bonus for a period of a year as stipulated by law, was not brought before the main administration of the Ukrainian SSR Light Industry Ministry. Thus, in 1988 around R5,000 were paid in bonuses to the main proponents of falsification of accounts, the managers and chief accountants of these factories. The many other shortcomings also noted in the work of the statistical bodies are to a large extent determined by the low demands made of them by the union republics state statistical committees and that of the USSR regarding compliance with legislation. These do not ensure a genuine increase in the level of authenticity of report-back data coming in from ministries, associations, and enterprises. Checks into the organization of departmental control over observance of the legislation on combatting falsification of accounts have been insufficient. The errors pointed to in this work are to be explained by the feeble demands made of the sector administrations, by Comrades Belov, Nevzorov, and Pogosov, deputy chairmen of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Mikhailovich, one final and quite reasonable question: What does the USSR Procuracy intend to do regarding the results of this check?

[Khvalin] I have to say that a considerable number of measures of the Procuracy's response have already been implemented locally, while the USSR Procuracy has adopted a decision to present a submission to the leadership of the USSR State Committee for Statistics which will, along with specific measures to introduce order, resolve the matter of the personal accountability of officials permitting a negligent attitude toward fulfilling the duties of their office. [end recording]

'Irresponsibility' Cited for High Accident Rate

PM0102120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent N. Kireyev report under the rubric "Following up Accidents": "Is the 'Pointsman' to Blame?"]

[Text] Tula—Last year 153 people lost their lives at Tula Oblast enterprises as a result of accidents and disasters. The "Tulachermet" science-and-production association and the "Tulaugol" production association top the list with seven people; Tula railroad association, the "Tulaavtotrans" association, and road transport enterprises—five; and the Shchekino "Azot" association—four.

If you add to this 349 lives lost as a result of road accidents, and 78 lives lost in fires, the picture becomes even more terrifying.

PRAVDA has twice reported explosions at Shchekino's "Azot" plant. The last one was heard on the eve of the New Year and claimed the lives of two workers. Addressing a CPSU obkom bureau session which discussed

instances of crude violation of technological and production discipline which had serious consequences at a number of enterprises and organizations in the oblast, "Azot" party secretary A. Fedotov declared that for the first time in 12 years "a certain slackening of discipline in the production sphere" had been allowed to occur. What form did this take? A commission revealed that senior operator Dyachkov, who came to work in an inebriated state, depressurized a production line without authorization. This resulted in a leakage of hydrogen and a subsequent explosion.

Where were the shift leader and the accident prevention engineer, and what was the trade union doing? Formally, they were all at their places. The enterprise trade union committee had met 12 times in the course of the year, always in connection with labor safety questions. And the result? There is none! The day after the obkom bureau session the local newspaper KOMMUNAR reported another accident at the "Azot" plant, albeit with a week's delay. During the demolition of a high-rise chimney, a 5-meter cylinder fell down, destroying scaffolding and damaging five service pipes amd eight electric cable runs. Fortunately, on this occasion there were no casualties.

Railroad transport has proved particularly vulnerable. N. Rudnev, head of the Tula railroad section, tried to explain accidents which happened at the Kaznacheyevka station in January last year and this year by pleading bad luck. Nikolay Konstantinovch cannot understand what "possesses" pointsmen who quite often allow passenger or freight trains to enter lines which are not free. At Krivoluchye station alone, such serious violations were allowed to occur three times in the course of the year.

Instances have multiplied in which rolling stock has spontaneously set itself in motion and departed from wherever it has been parked. Where this can lead is eloquently illustrated by the catastrophe which happened at the Novomoskovsk "Azot" production association's Zavodskaya station . There a train comprising 30 cars "ran away" and crashed into an experimental installations building. Six people were injured, one died.

Twice electric train cars caught fire while moving. Once passenger cars flared up at Tula station itself, virtually in front of the windows of the management offices.

Sad and dispassionate statistics hold an explanation for all these accidents, crashes, and disasters. Judge for yourselves. In the course of the year 1,279 violations of labor discipline by railroad workers were registered, 982 cases of absenteeism, 617 people committed to sobering up stations, and 138 registered at drug clinics.

It is not just the "pointsmen," who are always blamed for everything, that are guilty of alcohol abuse. Four leaders from the Uzlovskaya signaling and communications division were committed to a sobering up station at one time—two assistant chiefs, the chief engineer, and the head of a sector. They were censured at an ad hoc conference. A month later one of the assistant chiefs was transferred to the same post at the oblast center, and the chief engineer was appointed... chairman of the labor collective council.

Inexplicable metamorphoses! And what is the railroad workers' attitude to the threat of the crash that could happen if two trains meet on the railroad bridge at Kilometer 105 on the southern main line? The bridge is positively medieval. It has been considered unsafe for a long time, and people at the Ministry of Railways are perfectly aware of this. Are they just hoping that it will never happen?

An analysis of the accidents of which there was such a "wealth" during the past year shows that their main cause was a glaring lack of discipline and all-around irresponsibility.

It seems improbable but it is a fact: The explosions, runaway trains, and fires are the work of our own hands. As V. Mitin, director of the "Shtamp" plant, correctly noted: What we need is a special service equipped with modern instruments to test the strength of the weight-bearing structures of buildings and installations and equipment "fatigue." What is needed is an efficient accident-prevention system in the production sphere, instead of a mere program of party-political measures.

Many, very many questions were left hanging in the air after the discussion at the obkom bureau, which lasted more than an hour. Should not the work of labor safety engineers be at the focus of attention and concern of all the oblast enterprise and organization managers and leaders? Why make a secret of the fact that almost everywhere these posts are occupied by incompetent people and sometimes even casual workers. And what about the failure of foremen and shift and shop leaders to comply with their direct obligations? After all, drunkenness at work, after 2 years of "drought," is flourishing again.

The Tula CPSU Obkom Bureau adopted a resolution which notes: "...At a number of enterprises and organizations in the oblast work on ensuring safe working conditions is deemed **unsatisfactory**." The bureau agreed to the "Shtamp" plant, Shchekino "Azot" production association, and "Tochnost" science-and-production association party committees' decision to impose party punishments on Communists as a result of the investigation into what had happened. (It is not clear from the draft resolution, however, how they were to be punished. Nor was I able to find out any more details 5 days later from V. Samoylov, chief of the obkom Organizational and Cadre Work Department, or P. Dorokhov, first secretary of the Proletarskiy party raykom.—N.K.)

And so essentially there are no culprits. Everything is up to date, as they say. There has been a discussion and people have gone home. What now? Are we waiting for the next disaster to happen?...

Health Official Confirms Baby's AIDS Diagnosis

PM0302110389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by B. Moskalenkov: "Alarming Diagnosis"]

[Text] Astrakhan—Throughout the day the rumor had been going round Astrakhan that in one of the hospitals a child had been found to test positive for AIDS.

I called oblast health department chief A. Nichoga direct:

"Unfortunately, on this occasion the rumor has a basis in reality," Aleksey Moiseyevich replied. "When we learned of the fate of 27 children from the Elista hospital we were immediately concerned, since sick children from Elista are often brought to Astrakhan for treatment.

"We immediately began AIDS tests on all the children who had been treated with them, and in the oblast infectious diseases hospital there was an 11-month-old child who, unfortunately, had a positive reaction for AIDS."

"Yes," G. Lyubart, chief physician at the infectious diseases hospital, confirmed, "we are now requesting that the child be transferred to Moscow. He came to us from the republic hospital in Kalmykia on 3 December. The child was in a serious condition, but for a long time we were unable to make an accurate diagnosis."

Economic

PRAVDA on Council of Ministers Decision on Pricing

PM0602100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

["At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Feb—The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision "On Measures To Eliminate Shortcomings in the Practice of Pricing."

It is noted in the decision that the switching of enterprises to full financial autonomy and self-financing in conditions of the application of the USSR law "on state enterprise (association)" and the extension of their rights to set prices and charges for new kinds of goods and services have created additional economic incentives for increasing the volume of production, renewing the structure and range of manufactured output, and increasing its quality.

It is noted that many enterprises, taking advantage of the fact that demand for goods is considerably higher than their supply and their monopoly role in the market, are trying to improve their financial situation not by increasing production and reducing the cost of goods and services but by excessively increasing their prices. The practice of increasing prices under the guise of manufacturing new output, which in reality is only slightly or by no means different than what was made previously regarding its technical performance and commercial viability and consumer attributes, has become widespread.

Individual enterprises, taking advantage of the right to fix plans on their own, are increasing the production of expensive goods at the expense of taking out of production cheap articles required by the national economy and population. As a result, essential goods accessible to the basic mass of purchasers are disappearing from counters, and this brings about justified censure from the population.

Ministries and departments do not take the requirements of the market into account and have allowed work in the sphere of pricing at enterprises within their jursidiction to drift.

The councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the local soviets of peoples deputies do not pay appropriate attention to questions of shaping the structure of production and establishing prices on consumer goods and charges on services rendered to the population by enterprises located on their territory.

Speculative tendencies have become widespread in the activity of a number of cooperatives. In violation of the USSR law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR," products manufactured from state resources out of raw materials and materials are being marketed by them at prices exceeding the centrally established ones. Instances of cooperatives buying up manufactured goods in retail trade and reselling them at inflated prices are not uncommon.

The councils of ministers of the union republics, the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, and their local bodies have slackened their control over prices for potatoes, vegetables and fruit, and other foodstuffs.

The USSR State Prices Committee and its local bodies are poorly coordinating the work of the ministries, departments, and local management bodies in the sphere of pricing, are not sufficiently involving public organizations, and are paying little attention to preventing violations of price regulations.

For the purposes of overcoming the negative processes in pricing, strengthening the state price regulations in the national economy, and bringing about a normalization on the market, the Council of Ministers has envisaged a package of the relevant measures.

The most important task facing the USSR State Price Committee and its local bodies, the USSR ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, and the associations, enterprises, and organizations is combating the trends that have emerged of spiraling growth in prices for output for production and technical purposes, for goods and services compared to improvement in their technical performance and commercial viability, for consumer properties and quality, and for the removal from production of inexpensive goods that are in demand, to the detriment of the interests of the national economy and the population.

Work on perfecting pricing ought to be directed at stimulating increased effectiveness of output, at increasing the production of high-quality manufacturing-technical output and of various goods, and at providing services that satisfy the demand of the population with varying incomes.

The raising of the role of state orders in the formation of the level of prices in the national economy has been acknowledged as necessary. It has been established that starting with 1989 tasks are planned for the manufacture of most important groups of goods at socially low prices for children and older people as part of the state orders sent to light industry enterprises. The corresponding economic incentives are being introduced for the purpose of enhancing the involvement and responsibility of enterprises and associations regarding the assumption and fulfillment of state orders.

The USSR State Price Committee, USSR ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to adopt measures aimed at perfecting work in the sphere of pricing in the new conditions of the management of enterprises and organizations; resolutely stop any sort of extortion by individual enterprises and organizations regarding the application of contractual prices and various additions to prices for plan or above-plan output manufactured by them and having centrally fixed state prices that are either part of the state order or supplied by direct contract; ban price hikes for new output if there are only slight changes in its technical performance, commercial viability, and consumer qualities of no real effect to the consumer; view such facts as the violation of the state price regulations.

The decision defines specific measures to overcome negative processes in individual areas of price-setting.

In the Sphere of Establishing Prices for Output for Production and Technical Purposes

The current practice of the excessive raising of contract prices by producers of output for production and technical purposes, especially by those who hold a monopoly position in their production, has been deemed impermissible.

The responsibility of customers and development organizations for the creation of new output of a high technical standard and quality and for the formation of well-founded prices for it is intensified. To this end, the maximum prices that ensure higher comparative growth in its consumer properties compared to expenditures are defined on an obligatory basis at the stage of the design of the new output. When the new output is put into production and contract prices for it are determined, they are not allowed to exceed the agreed maximum prices. If the parameters adopted when the contract prices are being substantiated are not reached through the fault of the producer or developer, then the consumer will be refunded the difference in price for the full volume of the output supplied.

The decision draws the attention of enterprises and associations to the negative practice, which has become widespread recently, of the use for settling accounts on contracts for work and services fulfilled by cooperative and public organizations of the resources of development funds meant for production, science and technology, and social development. Responsibility for making correct estimates of expenditures on labor is placed on the managers of enterprises and associations, and USSR banks are instructed to ensure appropriate checks.

In the Sphere of Fixing Retail Prices for Goods and Charges for Services

In order to establish order in fixing prices for new consumer goods and to rule out the possibility of setting prices too high by means of the purely formal switching of types and titles of merchandise, a more exacting attitude is being adopted to the quality of articles for which temporary and contract prices (with the symbols "N" and "D") are established. It has been stipulated that such production must have precisely expressed indications of newness, conform to the requirements of fashion, and be noted for its high quality.

When facts come to light about the unjustified fixing of temporary and contract prices and the supply at these prices of poor-quality goods or goods manufactured to standards other than those approved, these prices will be subjected to reduction or cancellation, and sanctions as stipulated by the USSR law "on the state enterprise (association)" will be imposed for violation of price regulations.

The unjustified increased stamping of goods, the prices of which are fixed by enterprises in agreement with trade organizations (with the symbols "OM", "VK", "MOL", and others) is being abolished. It has been established that temporary price increases for goods of improved quality with the symbol "N" are being approved at no more than 15 percent against the regular retail price for a period of up to 1 year (up to 2 years for furniture).

Contract and temporary prices are not being fixed for goods in the children's range, nor for goods for elderly people (according to the list stipulated in the state order).

With the object of increasing the responsibility of trade organizations for a justified level of contract prices for goods in accordance with their quality and demand by the population, it has been stipulated that any losses incurred from a reduction in prices for goods marketed according to contract prices and for which demand has decreased will be fully referred to the loss-in-trade fund [fond utsenki torgovli].

The executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to more actively use in customers' interest the opportunities and initiative of consumers' societies and clubs and to draw them toward examination of the issues of improving the supply to the population of goods and services, the work of cooperatives, improvement of the organization of trade, and the strengthening of the control of quality, range, prices, and charges for marketed goods and services.

The councils of ministers of the union and automous republics, the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, and the USSR State Committee for Standards were instructed to intensify the control of the quality of foodstuffs and also of the correctness of fixing and application of prices.

An instruction has been issued to adopt necessary measures to avert arbitary price increases of potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce and not to permit compensating in this way for the damages and losses caused by mismanagement. The republican and local bodies are granted the right to fix maximum prices, differentiated according to season, for potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce marketable in the whole state retail trade network, regardless of the department to which they are subordinated.

The councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to intensify their control of the correct ways of the fixing and application of prices and charges for consumer, municipal, medical, transport and other paid services, which are of great social importance, and to enhance the responsibility of the management of the enterprises in the services sphere for strict adherence to the state price regulations.

It has been established that prices and charges for services should not be increased when enterprises, collectives, and teams that provide everyday services and are employed in the public service economy and other branches of the service sphere, transfer to the new management conditions, forms of organization, and labor incentives.

In the Sphere of Price Formation for the Output of Cooperatives

As important significance is attributed to the development of the cooperative movement for the fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements of the national economy and the population for goods and services, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies are charged with intensifying the work on promoting cooperative forms of activity. Special attention must be paid to the establishment of cooperatives engaged in the production, processing, and marketing of agricultural produce; the manufacture of consumer goods, primarily from secondary and local resources; and the carrying out of construction and repair work and the rendering of everyday services. A policy must be consistently pursued of creating the organizational and economic conditions for bringing the level of cooperative prices closer to that of the state ones on the basis of competitiveness, with equal rights between cooperatives and enterprises in the state sector and among themselves.

For the purposes of creating favorable conditions for cooperatives to boost output and improve the quality of products, expand the volume of services rendered, and reduce costs, prices and charges, it has been recognized as expedient to broaden the possibilities for cooperatives to acquire material resources.

It is planned that nonfood and food goods of a sufficient variety will be allocated to cooperatives without cash transfer from wholesale and small-scale wholesale bases of the state trade network and consumer cooperatives. It is recommended that enterprises, organizations, and establishments when they register the rules of cooperatives and conclude agreements with them should provide them with material resources and the marketing of their production on the conditions and at the prices established for state enterprises, organizations, and establishments; and that an analogous procedure for material-technical supply and price application is used when cooperatives are organized on the shopfloors of enterprises for work on a second and third shift and also when equipment leased to them is used.

The decision prohibits public catering management bodies from transferring to cooperatives canteens at enterprises, in educational establishments, and in construction and other organizations without the agreement of the labor collectives they serve. For the purpose of regulating prices in public catering cooperatives, the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been instructed to fix maximum price markups on their output, taking into account the standard of the service provided as applied to the size of the markups in force at state enterprises of the corresponding categories.

When food and other goods allotted from state market allocations or purchased in the retail trade network without any subsequent culinary and technological processing are sold, the cooperatives should be guided by the maximum size of the markups on the acquisition prices, which is fixed by the USSR State Price Committee.

Supervision over the quality of the manufactured output and over the sanitary and hygienic condition of public catering cooperatives and also of cooperatives making confectionery, bread, and other food products is placed in the hands of state goods quality and trading inspectorates of the trade ministries of the union republics and in the hands of local bodies of the sanitary-epidemiological service, and this supervision is to be carried out in the same way as that in force at state enterprises. It is proposed that public controllers and members of consumer associations and clubs be involved in this work.

It has been established that the declaration of income is the main document recording the size of the incomes of a cooperative, its members, and also citizens working in it by labor contract, in order to determine the amount of taxation, the deduction of other compulsory payments, and the designation of the intervals at which they will be paid. Submission of the declaration—the principal financial document determining the cooperatives' interrelationship with financial and banking bodies—is to be made quarterly. It is envisaged that cooperatives will bear the liability stipulated by the USSR law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" if the declaration is not submitted on time, if the information is distorted, or if deliberately false information is given.

In the Sphere of Accelerating the Monitoring of Prices

It is acknowledged that it is necessary to improve substantially the work of monitoring the observance of state price regulations in the national economy by setting up for this purpose a single statewide system of price monitoring.

The task has been presented of actively opposing all attempts at a departmental and parochial approach when establishing and applying prices at all levels of economic management; of preventing unjustified price increases, the deception of consumers, and the obtaining of income that does not correspond to the real contribution made to the end results of economic activity; and also of ensuring the inevitability of application of the economic sanctions envisaged by the legislation for infringements of state price regulations.

The USSR State Price Committee bears responsibility for organizing the monitoring of the observance of state price regulations throughout the country. It is planned that the work will be performed in close interaction with the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, people's control bodies, statistical bodies, and financial and banking bodies with the broad involvement of trade union organizations, consumer societies, and clubs.

In order to ensure systematic analysis of the movement of prices and charges, study their effect on the development of the national economy and the population's living standards, and efficiently reveal and prevent the unjustified growth of prices and charges for goods and services, instructions have been issued for expanding statistical observations and boosting the reliability of information on the level and movement of prices throughout the country.

It is planned that state bodies, enterprises, associations and organizations, and also the population will be informed regularly on the real movement of prices and charges for production and services.

***Gosbank Financial, Credit Reforms Urged**

WA1820017789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by V. Belkin, professor, head of the Laboratory of National Economic Problems of the Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences for Studying Productive Forces and Natural Resources; for interview with Gosbank Chairman N. Garetovskiy mentioned in text, see pages 71-74 of the 15 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] At the end of 1988, IZVESTIYA published an interview with the chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank, N. Garetovskiy. It could not but attract heightened attention from readers: Devaluation of money, increased costs, and the deficit touch upon both private and public interests. We attach our hopes for the success of the restructuring of the economy and for a better life to the development of commodity-monetary relations. Among the freedoms we desire most, freedom of consumer selection is not the least. And if this choice is not being narrowed, it is not being expanded either, and it is difficult to be reconciled to this.

Speaking in his interview about inflation and the decline of the buying power of the ruble, N. Garetovskiy still thinks that "...We have not gone that far. There is no need to dramatize the situation." In light of the multibillion budget deficit, it is difficult to agree with this estimate. As we know, taking Gosbank loans into

account, the budget deficit amounts to 11 percent of the gross national product—100 billion rubles. With a budget deficit half that size, in Argentina, for example, and in Brazil, prices still increased 3-5 times in those two countries. The situation is no better in such socialist countries as Poland and Yugoslavia. We have centrally established prices and we do not allow multiple increases of them. But at the same time, certain goods are no longer for sale, and more and more of them are in short supply. All of this was discussed in detail in the article by Ye. Gaydar and O. Latsis, "Can We Afford the Expense" (IZVESTIYA No 333, 1988).

One could still somehow understand the calmness of the leader of the major bank if Gosbank had mastered methods and were capable of immediately and radically improving the situation. But in the interview, N. Garetovskiy admits that he has not mastered such methods. Only one measure in the necessary direction was mentioned—the removal from circulation of 14 billion rubles in payment credit. But can this exert any kind of significant influence on the country's general financial situation if Gosbank loans planned this year to make up for the state budget deficit have been set at 63.4 billion rubles?

Judging from the interview, he does not have a real program for financial improvement, but still he rejects out of hand, as it were, the concept we proposed for solving this problem through the formation of the market. It was discussed briefly in IZVESTIYA (No 127, 1988). Nikolay Viktorovich refers to this article as well. The essence of the concept, which was developed by MGU Professors P. Medvedev and I. Nit, consists of a synchronized changeover to wholesale trade in means of production and money that is convertible in domestic circulation.

The first to be changed over to material and technical supply through wholesale trade would be enterprises that produce goods for the population and export, and also those that render services to the population. Money earned from their sales is actually earned, which is confirmed by payment for them by the final consumer, that is, the retail buyer, and not through noncash transfers from one account to another, which has little meaning. This money should also be used for wholesale trade in means of production without funds and limits, since it has been received for real and consumed material goods. This money is backed by commodities and can thus be freely used for any needs, which distinguishes real money—the universal equivalent—from the kind of money our enterprises have at their disposal today.

"Convertible money" is received by the suppliers from the enterprises that produce goods and services for the population. With "convertible money" they can also acquire raw materials, processed materials, and equipment through wholesale trade. What has been said pertains also to those who supply the suppliers. Thus, gradually, in 3-4 years it will be possible to change the entire national economy over to wholesale trade in means of production and "convertible money." The money of the population and the exporters, coming into the national economy through the chain of technological ties, should not be confused with the previous payment means. Therefore it should be kept in special bank accounts in all stages of its movement.

In keeping with this concept, the reform will be carried out under a policy of self-regulation. Previous forms and methods of management will not break down here but will be crowded out by the new ones.

Such a reform will help put an end to the wasteful dictatorship of the producer, and production will gradually be made directly dependent on the consumer—on his "convertible money." There will be a sharp increase in the enterprises' interest in producing products for the population and for export. Along with the formation of the market for means of production, the consumer market will also become more balanced.

In his interview, N. Garetovskiy raises three objections to our concept.

First, money from retail trade comes to the producer not after the sale of goods to the population, but in advance, when the trade enterprises settle their accounts for the items that have been delivered, some of which may be unsold or sold after being marked down.

Second, because of the unity of monetary circulation, it is supposedly impossible to provide for a strict delimitation of money in regular and special accounts; they will inevitably get mixed up.

Third, one cannot count on the success of the proposed concept now because the conditions for conducting such actions were different in 1922-1924, when the gold chernovets was introduced and the budget deficit eliminated on the basis of this.

Let us begin with the last objection. Were the objective conditions for financial improvement really more favorable in a backward country, torn apart by bloody world and civil wars, with a half illiterate population than they are now in a country with universal literacy and an abundance of resources?

The second objection cannot be taken seriously either. There is a certain amount of confusion here, too. The unity of monetary circulation so far exists only in words, but with respect to several strictly separate bank accounts of each enterprise it is a strict reality. Any director knows that it is impossible to pay, for example, wages in basic production from the account for "capital repair." So far there has been only discussion about the unity of circulation.

But the first objection to our concept should be discussed in greater detail. With the interrelations that have developed between the buyer, the store, and the enterprise, enterprise workers can actually receive and sometimes do receive unearned income—for the production of goods that will not be sold. The bank leader reasonably calls for "raising reliable barriers to the payment of unearned money." But here a question arises: How do the trade organizations settle accounts with the suppliers of the goods that the population subsequently purchases? After all, they do not have their own money. They settle accounts with bank credit, which they receive automatically. Hence, it follows that the bank leader's appeal is addressed to the bank itself. It is namely the bank, or in any case it should be first of all the bank, that should take measures against the payment of unearned money—the main source of inflation.

Many economists, including myself, have written about this startling policy that allows payment for wasted labor, but alas, we have written in vain. In the bank, for instance, they did not even notice our presence. Tired of knocking on the appropriate doors, I decided to appeal to the public. Along with the financial expert V. Ivanter and the dramatist A. Sosnin, we wrote a scenario, and the director A. Manasarova directed a film entitled "From Wage to Wage." The subject of the film was the new partnership relations between the bank and a footwear factory. The bank helps the factory in all ways, but its credit is repaid only with earnings from the sale of footwear to the population. If no footwear is sold, there are no wages. And the factory director, the charming A. Myagkov, does not manage to break down the inflexible bank director O. Yefremov. Normal khozraschet relations!

We began the film during the period of stagnation and were not sure we would be allowed to show it. But then restructuring came. It was stated in the political report to the 27th congress how abnormal it is to pay for labor whose results do not reach the consumer. During the congress the film was shown at the Zaryadye movie theater in the Rossiya Hotel where the congress delegates were staying... The viewer reaction I overheard in the movie theater was disheartening. It is bad for footwear to remain in the warehouse, they said, but after all, the plan (!) had to be fulfilled, and the people had to receive their wages... Incidentally, one of the leaders of the USSR Gosbank who saw the film at that time said he awaited the denouement with interest: Would the banker have enough courage not to issue the money or would he finally give in?

And yet normal economic relations should not be provided exclusively through the heroism of one of the parties. There is a tried and true way of relieving trade of the need to purchase future unmarketable goods and thus saving the economy from paying unearned money—commercial credit. Trade receives the commodity from the producer under an IOU, and once the commodity is sold to the population he pays the money and redeems the IOU. If the producer enterprise needs the money sooner, he can put the IOU in a commercial bank and take a loan out against it. If the commodity is not sold, the trade organization is the first to suffer, then the commercial bank, and finally the industrial enterprise, but not the country's monetary circulation and not the consumer, as is now the case. With this kind of mechanism, work "for the warehouse" is rare. The trade enterprise will not purchase potentially unmarketable goods; it will keep its eyes open for fear of getting burned.

Commercial credit exists everywhere, and during the NEP period we had it in our country as well. Economists of the USSR Academy of Sciences have repeatedly suggested bringing it back. These suggestions, like ours, have been rejected. Incidentally, in the interview the chairman of the board of Gosbank says the authors of these suggestions are "innocently deceived." Now this applies to many, including the Academic Secretary of the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Aganbegyan, who discussed our concept in a paper at a recent conference on problems of improving the economic mechanism for wholesale trade in means of production. He discussed it because without money that is convertible in domestic circulation, without a market, there can be no real wholesale trade, and so its mechanism is also imperfect. After all, for almost 3 years the Gossnab, the Gosbank, the Ministry of Finance, and the State Committee for Prices have been trying to solve the problem of wholesale trade, finances, and prices, but these agencies are operating separately, in isolation, assuming this can be done without a market. Is this not deception?

The historical parallels are amazing. One recalls a statement by A. Aganbegyan's pre-pre-predecessor in the post of academic secretary of the economic department, V. Nemchinov, a quarter of a century ago. In 1964 on instructions from N.S. Khrushchev, Gosplan, in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance, considered our—the Institute of Electronic Control Machines—calculations of prices of a single level that reflect the output-capital ratio. The changeover to these prices was an important stage in the reform of the economic mechanism for which Academician V. Nemchinov was working. Even now his recommendations are not outdated. They were recognized and rated highly at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and they were printed again in the magazine KOMMUNIST No 11 for 1987. But at that time, in May of 1964, V. Nemchinov was replaced in the Gosplan by the Finance Minister V. Garbuzov. He gave a speech to explain to the honored academician "and others like him" how deceived they had been in sharing our position on the question of prices. Let us note that subsequently wholesale prices close to the ones we proposed were introduced anyway within the framework of the economic reform of 1965-1967. But the basic package of Nemchinov's recommendations, especially concerning wholesale trade in means of production, were unrealized, which undermined the

last reform. Soon, taking advantage of the bugbear of market socialism, proponents of the administrative system completely nullified this reform.

Unfortunately, even now relations between economic management agencies and economic science are far from rational in our country. As before, the latter is assigned primarily the role of commentator. At best, economic science is used as a kind of designer of the economic mechanism—to supply it with elegant words and decorate it with fancy formulas. The administrative system inevitably retains the role of designer and technologist of this mechanism. There is nothing surprising in that with such a distribution of roles and with such a status for economic science, a radical reform will always be blocked.

I should like to conclude with an appeal to the USSR Gosbank and its leaders. As follows from the interview, the evaluation of the situation and the objections to the proposed concept for the creation of a market and financial improvement are not indisputable. So let us not discuss the problem through the newspaper, or at least not solely through the newspaper. Perhaps then, you, Nikolay Viktorovich, will have the enthusiasm to "cut the Gordian knot," which was also discussed in the interview and which is something that all of us lack enthusiasm to do. And it would be good for this to happen as quickly as possible, for if it takes another quarter of a century, such as has passed since the last reform, neither we nor our long-suffering financial and credit system will be spared by fate.